

JPRS 73840

13 JULY 1979

No. 1698

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE		1. REPORT NO. JPRS 73840	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle EAST EUROPE REPORT: POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1698			5. Report Date 13 July 1979	6.
7. Author(s)			8. Performing Organization Rept. No.	
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201			10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.	
			11. Contract(C) or Grant(G) No. (C) (G)	
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above			13. Type of Report & Period Covered	
			14.	
15. Supplementary Notes				
16. Abstract (Limit: 200 words) This serial report contains information on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.				
17. Document Analysis a. Descriptors				
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs <input type="checkbox"/> Albania <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> German Democratic Republic <input type="checkbox"/> Hungary <input type="checkbox"/> Poland <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania <input type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia		Propaganda Political Science Sociology Military Organizations		
b. Identifiers/Open Ended Terms				
c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15				
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22161		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED		21. No. of Pages 100
		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED		22. Price

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

PRESS SILENT ON CARTER-BREZHNEV EMBRACE--Neither Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech nor Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak mention in their coverage of the signing of SALT-II by Leonid Brezhnev and President Carter in Vienna on 18 June the embrace of the two statesmen. Dusan Rovensky, RUDE PRAVO's special correspondent in Vienna, reports in his description of the scene in RUDE PRAVO on 19 June on page 1 that "after signing the document the two statesmen shook hands and made short speeches." Juraj Bydzovsky, PRAVDA's special correspondent, also fails to mention the incident, despite his detailed description of the ceremony in the Vienna Hofburg in PRAVDA on 19 June on page 7. He notes that after signing the SALT treaty "Leonid Brezhnev and James Carter shook hands with each other and said goodbye to the members of the delegations accompanying the two highest representatives at the Vienna meeting." Prague RUDE PRAVO and Bratislava PRAVDA on 19 June also carry--both on the front page--two photographs taken at the ceremony. One of them shows Carter and Brezhnev signing the documents. The other shows them exchanging the files containing the signed documents. [Editorial Report]

CSO: 2400

BULGARIA

AIR FORCE GENERAL AVGUST KABAKCHIEV: BIOGRAPHIC DATA

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 8 May 79 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Colonel General Avgust Kabakchiev, by Colonel Rangel Zlatkov: "Revolutionary Optimism: Duty, Trust, Responsibility--With Love for the USSR, the CPSU and the Soviet Army"]

[Text] In connection with the 35th anniversary of the Socialist Revolution and the Bulgarian People's Army we are publishing, under the headline "Revolutionary Optimism: Duty, Trust, Responsibility," the following interview with Colonel General Avgust Kabakchiev.

[Question] When and where were you born? What do you remember most vividly from your youth?

[Answer] I was born on 17 May 1914 in Sofia to the family of the professional revolutionary Christo Kabakchiev.

As far back as I can remember as a small boy there was always a great deal of talk in our house about a beautiful promised land--Soviet Russia. My father's stories about traveling by fishing boat on the Black Sea (6 whole days and nights from Varna to Odessa in 1920) in order to attend the Second Communist International Congress as our party's delegate, his meetings with Vladimir Il'ich Lenin and the Soviet people--all this was like the tale of a distant country, but one near to my heart, that I dreamed of getting to and, what's more, of living in.

The dream became reality. My cherished dream came true--I went to Soviet Russia, to Moscow. Thus began my new life in my second homeland.

[Question] Where did you study and when did you complete your education? Who are the strongest personalities (teachers) that left a lasting impression on you, and what?

[Answer] I finished elementary school in Sofia. I had begun my studies in junior high school but quit in the second year because I went to Vienna

where I finished up. In 1929 my family and I went to Moscow where I continued and completed my secondary education--school and worker's high school. I enrolled in the Moscow Institute of Engineering Economics and was a student there till the middle of my second year. In 1932 the Lenin Komsomol assumed patronage of the air force--young men of my Komsomol class went into aviation military institutions in masses. I liked aviation a lot and took the examinations for the Professor Zhukovskiy Air Force Academy, which I passed. To get some experience, they sent me to the academy aviation brigade for a year to do my regular service. Thus I got into the Red Army as a volunteer. As of the end of 1933 I began regular studies and in 1939 I was graduated from the engineering faculty of the academy, qualified as a military mechanical engineer in the air force. That is how I got my higher engineering and military education.

The image of my elementary school teacher, communist Dimitur Popov, has left the greatest impression and affection in me--because of his charm, the demands that he made, his fairness, and his affection for his pupils. He disappeared in April 1925--the fate of many communists befell him.



[Question] When did you first begin to engage in communist activity? Would you indicate the first communists (members of the Workers Youth Union) with whom you became acquainted, and what was your relationship with them?

[Answer] My organized communist activity (if it can be called that) dates from the Young Pioneer detachment and Komsomol society in Moscow. The first communist that I became acquainted with? That was my father, Khristo Kabakchiev, who from my earliest years nurtured me in the spirit of communist ideas and ideals. He taught me great love for the Land of the Soviets, for the great Lenin. I should like to mention my second cousin (my mother's cousin), Ivan Nedyalkov-Shablin, who stands out in my memory as an exceptionally courageous figure.

The first Soviet family that I got acquainted with was the family of the famous old Bolshevik Eaeliyan Yaroslavskiy, with which I lived my first few months in Moscow. He and his beautiful comrade, the courageous revolutionary Klavdiya Ivanovna Kirsanova, remain in my memory as most vivid recollections.

[Question] What personal harm did you suffer in the revolutionary struggle before the victory of the socialist revolution? How did it affect your further activity?

[Answer] There were moments in my life connected with our family's activity that left a strong imprint on my consciousness: my father's arrest on 12 September 1923; in 1925 during the April events when we expected that he would be liquidated in prison together with his comrades; his farewell letters to me, to my sister and my mother. But the profoundest mark was left by what happened after his release from prison by amnesty when the authorities denied him a passport to leave the country. This was in May 1926. My father said goodbye and went somewhere. One morning on the way to school I heard the newsboys shouting in the street, "Khristo Kabakchiev caught attempting to cross the border illegally. Public prosecutor wants to hand him over to military court; asks for death penalty." This event had a great influence in my life. At the same time it also affected my speech.

[Question] To wind up your life and work prior to 9 September 1944, will you summarize the main points in your biography that have helped establish you as a communist leader?

[Answer] After my graduation from the air force academy in 1939 I served at first in the Vovshilovgrad air force school as chief of the engine repair workshop and afterwards as production engineer in the aviation repair workshop. There I was accepted as a party member (I had been accepted as candidate member as early as the academy).

At the end of 1940 I was transferred to Moscow as assistant military representative at one of the largest aircraft plants, at the aircraft test station. The beginning of the war found me there. In July 1942 I was appointed military repair engineer in the headquarters of the newly formed 274th fighter air division. After receiving 3 regiments and building up to prescribed strength at an accelerated pace, the division was assigned

to the Kalinin front on 17 October... From July to September 1943 we participated in the defeat of enemy aviation and forces in the famous battle of the Kursk arc and directly in the liberation of Orel and Bryansk. In November 1943 I was appointed senior engineer and deputy commander of the aviation-engineering service of the 64th Guards Fighter Air Regiment of the same division.

Of other larger-scale operations I should like to mention the battles in June-July 1944, famous under the name of "Bagration." At the beginning of August 1944 our air corps as part of the 1st Baltic Front participated in the encirclement of the large enemy grouping of about 30 divisions which were fighting to hold the Baltic beachhead. For its successful operation the division was awarded the Order of Suvorov.

The news of the victorious Ninth of September uprising and the formation of the new Fatherland Front government in Bulgaria came at the peak of the battles for the liberation of Riga. On 14 September a coded message came from Moscow that I should be placed on detached service and go to Air Force Personnel Administration. From there I received orders to report to the Central Committee of the BCP (b)--actually our party. With great emotion to this day I recall my first meeting with Georgi Dimitrov in his office in the building of the Central Committee of the BCP (b) on 2 October 1944. I was together with the hero of the Soviet Union, flyer and member of the Spanish International Brigade, Zakhari Zakhariyev. Dimitrov met us with a smile and was very cordial. With exceptional skill and in detail he sketched the tasks involved in creating our new aviation, which was to profit completely from the experience of Soviet aviation and to be trained and educated like it. At dawn on 5 October 1944 the two of us--Comrade Zakhariyev and I--took off by military transport plane from the Moscow central airport together with Professor Krustyu Dobrev, Dimitur Ganev who had come to Moscow with Dimitrov, and Comrade Minkov from the village of Tsalapitsa.

[Question] Why did you choose the profession of regular military man?

[Answer] When I wanted to go into aviation, my father was at first taken aback, but later said, "I approve completely! Our party and our future Bulgaria, rid of fascism, will need their own officer personnel who are devoted to the people. Go, master military science and the military specialty. One day, and that won't be very far off, the future Bulgarian Red Army will need you."

Many times I have pondered my father's words: officer of the future Red Army of a Bulgaria rid of fascism! At that time it was only a mirage, some distant future. With the start of the war in 1939, especially after the treacherous invasion of the Soviet Union by the Hitler fascist forces, it became clear that this day would soon come; the nations of Europe enslaved by fascism would be liberated. For nearly 35 years now I have worn the

epaulettes of an officer and general in the Bulgarian People's Army and I am proud of it.

[Question] What are the most characteristic high lights of your service in the People's Army? Will you describe them, citing specifically some striking examples?

[Answer] From the very first day, Comrade Zakhariev and I started to work on the air force staff although the order for our appointment was published a month later.

Originally I was appointed chief of technical services of the air force, but after the introduction of the new organization I was appointed chief engineer of the air force--deputy commander for aviation-engineering services. The years of building the new air force were filled with much enthusiasm, self-denial and drama. The youthful personnel, absolutely devoted to the homeland, grew up and became men.

G. Dimitrov's constant concern had a tremendous influence on the development of our aviation. I happened to go to Moscow in April 1945 to expedite the delivery of the airplanes that we were supposed to receive free under the first military-cooperation treaty between our country and the USSR, concluded on 15 March 1945. On my arrival I notified G. Dimitrov's staff and he invited me to his office the next day. As for the new airplanes, in my presence he contacted the air force headquarters of Marshal of Aviation Comrade Novikov and asked him to expedite the delivery of the airplanes to Bulgaria. Before very long the planes began to land in our country.

In 1956 I was appointed deputy chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, and in January 1960 deputy minister of National Defense. In November 1971 I became deputy chairman of the Planning Committee, in which post I served till the end of 1977.

Throughout my career (more than 30 years) in leadership positions I have had many experiences. I would note the aforementioned meetings with Comrade G. Dimitrov, especially the first meeting in his office on 2 October 1944. His instructions have been a guiding principle in my entire career in all the posts I have held.

[Question] Will you say something about the friendship of men in arms? How about the maxim that this friendship is for life? Is it of short-lived significance, or is it, in your opinion, absolute?

[Answer] In my 40 years of military service I have had the opportunity to serve and work with many people. I have had cordial relations with many of them. I have even kept up contacts after going our separate ways in the service. However, from my very first years of service, during training in my young years, such cordial and lasting relations were established with

3 of my friends, Soviet officers (now generals) that our true friendship has become our families' friendship and has been handed down to our next generation.

These are my kindest and dearest friends, with whom I served in the same regiment and with whom I am friends and keep in touch today as well. . . Deep in my heart there glows the warmth and reminiscences of the war years in the guards fighter aviation and the genuine heroism that was displayed by the aviators and the simple tillers of the soil. This is the way these reminiscences and these contacts in all likelihood will continue to the very end.

Judge for yourself whether the friendship of men in arms is of short-lived significance or absolute.

[Question] What human virtues do you prize the most? What shortcomings do you dislike most intensely?

[Answer] I prize the most total dedication in the struggle for our communist cause. In a person I prize unpretentiousness, honesty, industriousness, frankness, fairness, a sense of responsibility, readiness to sacrifice oneself for the good of the people.

I dislike most intensely treachery, self-seeking, hypocrisy, insincerity, toadyism, kowtowing, using one's official position for personal benefit.

[Question] What personalities in Bulgaria and the world are your idols and which of their virtues impress you as deeply?

[Answer] Cyril and Methodius, Vasil Levski and Khristo Botev for their boundless love of the people and their self-sacrifice on behalf of their welfare.

Marx, Engels and Lenin for their inspired intellect, for charting the paths to reform human society into communist society, for their tremendous organizational activity in the struggle for mankind's bright future. Dimitur Blagoev. I am familiar with his life—it is proverbial industry and amazing modesty. Georgi Dimitrov for his daring and fearlessness, steadfastness and unshakability and at the same time his charm and human qualities. Leonid Brezhnev and Todor Zhivkov for their consistent Marxist-Leninist policy throughout their career, for their unstinted devotion to communism, for their firmness in seeing through the victory of communism, for their untiring struggle for peace and understanding among nations, for their unstinted devotion to proletarian internationalism.

Khristo Kabakchiev. For me he was an example to be emulated of total dedication to the great communist cause, of industry, honesty and exceptional modesty, sincerity in his relationships, a comrade and a tenderly loving father.

[Question] What do you want of the men and commanders of the Bulgarian People's Army?

[Answer] Totally dedicated service to their homeland, upgrading of the army's combat efficiency, great progress in combat and political training, excellent mastery of arms and equipment. Absolute loyalty to the great Soviet Land and its communist party. Constant strengthening of life-enduring Bulgarian-Soviet friendship. Loyalty to proletarian internationalism and the strengthening of friendship between the fighting men of the Warsaw Treaty armies. That always and in everything they should learn from the rich and inexhaustible experience of the Soviet Army.

[Question] What is your personal motto in life?

[Answer]

Безусловная преданность Родине и
всесторонняя помощь за победу на
коммунистическом пути и в ВОВ вместе с
всем нашим Союзом и мировым
коммунистическим движением

30 апреля 1979

ген. Кабакчиев

Key:

Absolute loyalty; honest and totally dedicated service for the victory of communism; always and in everything together with the great Soviet Union and its communist party.

30 April 1979.

Gen. Kabakchiev

6474

CSO: 2200

VIENNA DAILY COMMENTS ON DETENTIONS IN CSSR

Vienna ARBEITER-ZEITUNG in German 2 Jun 79 p 4 AU

[Article by Jan Jir: "Re the Prague Detentions Destined To Hamper the Vienna Summit?"]

[Text] The action against Charter 77, which at first glance looked like a routine exercise of the state security policy--detentions in the CSSR are a part of everyday life--is now proving to be a most severe blow against the civil rights movement in the country neighbouring us on the north. For the first time in its 2 1/2 year existence two charter spokesmen were arrested and charged with the criminal offense of undermining the republic.

In answer to the logical question as to the reason which far transcends the border of the CSSR and the importance of a police action we may say that the action was started not only at a time when the world public's attention is focused on the Pope's visit to Poland, and also shortly before the Carter-Brezhnev meeting in Vienna.

According to most recent reports from Prague out of the 14 charter signatories detained on Tuesday [29 May], only five have been released so far (among them the wife of imprisoned journalist Jiri Lederer, former deputy foreign minister Dr Sekaninova and former deputy Rudolf Battek.) Four of the detained, among them the present charter spokesmen Dr Vaclav Benda and Jiri Dienstbier and also the signatories Dana Nemcova and Petr Uhl, were charged with undermining the republic under paragraph 98 of the criminal code; sentences range from 1 to 5 years. The sentence for Petr Uhl, who supposedly committed the offense "In connection with abroad," ranges from 3 to 10 years.

All those arrested are members of the "Committee For the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted" which had been active as a working group within the charter and which registered cases of arrest, court proceedings and similar offenses against the existing laws and informed the public of them; so far, about 100 such cases have been reported.

Thus the fact that the state security organs decided to intervene at just this moment cannot be viewed as a coincidence. There is a similarity with the great charter proceedings in the fall of 1977. Then, too, the state security organs waited a number of months before instituting proceedings against journalist Jiri Laderer, author Vaclav Havel and others, only to hold them 2 weeks before the CSCE follow-up meeting in Belgrade.

These court proceedings and the severe sentences then jeopardized the climate of detente. Now that this blow is delivered shortly before the Carter-Brezhnev summit the question which asks who is behind it and what is intended is justified. The criminal proceedings against civil rights exponents in the CSSR will rally the opponents to detente. Moreover, these proceedings certainly constitute a challenge to the American president who is advocating human and civil rights.

One logical conclusion follows from this: In the East as in the West there are forces which have no interest whatsoever in the topics of disarmament and detente in world politics which will be included on the Vienna agenda. In the East--just as well as in the West--these people are predominantly members of the military and security officers concerned about making a living. They are maintaining their mutual contacts in the eastern countries and are now obviously trying to influence the official policy in their own interest by this roundabout way. From this point of view, the blow against the charter is a small-scale maneuver against the Vienna summit.

CSO: 2300

VIENNA PAPER PREVIEWS FORTHCOMING TRIALS OF CHARTER 77 ACTIVISTS

Vienna ARBEITZER-ZEITUNG in German 28 Jun 79 p 3 AU

[Unattributed report: "Show Trial Forthcoming in Prague"]

[Summary] "According to CSSR civil rights movement sources, the biggest political trials in years will in all probability be staged this summer in Prague. The defendants face prison sentences of up to 10 years." The ten members of the "Committee For the Defense of Unjustly Persecuted" (among them two charter 77 spokesmen) were arrested at 5 a.m. on 29 May. From its establishment in April 1979 until the arrest of its members, the committee issued 113 statements on human rights violations in the CSSR. Obviously the Husak regime carefully timed the arrest, relying on the Western public's attention being diverted by the Pope's visit to Poland and by the SALT II summit in Vienna.

Originally, 9 of the 10 defendants were charged with anti-state activities punishable by prison terms of up to 5 years, and Petr Uhl was facing a 3-5 year sentence under Article 98 (28) of the CSSR Penal Code for "Large-Scale Subversion and Collusion with Foreign Countries." Now the indictment of the other nine defendants has been extended to include the paragraphs under which Uhl is charged. Uhl and the famous writer Vaclav Havel are threatened with the severest jail sentences, both at least 7 years because of "recidivism."

"As has been reported from Prague, Cardinal Tomasek has refused to intervene for the four active Catholics among the arrested, on the grounds that the offenses with which the charter signers are charged were of a political rather than religious nature."

Amnesty International organization's international secretariat has announced that it has adopted all 10 defendants as "prisoners of conscience" and declared that it would ask the CSSR Government's permission to dispatch an observer to the forthcoming trial.

"In Austria, too, the solidarity with the CSSR civil rights fighters is growing. Yesterday [27 June] one representative each of Amnesty International and of the 'Socialist East Europe Committee' submitted a resolution to the CSSR Embassy in Vienna addressed to President Husak. The resolution was adopted by some 450 participants in a meeting organized by the Socialist

East Europe Committee. At this meeting, Heinz Fischer, Ernest Mandel, Franz Marek and Dubcek's former close assistant Zdenek Mlynar discussed the subject "Does socialism have a chance in East Europe?"

"The note of protest to Husak says: 'We regard these arrests as an attempt by the Czechoslovak Government to silence the civil rights movement. The current wave of repression is the gravest since the arrest of prominent socialists of the Prague spring.' The note furthermore calls for the release of the imprisoned charter signatories and for the unhindered work of the 'Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted' and goes on to say:

"'Should it come to a trial of the 10 persons, we demand a public trial and the opportunity for representatives of the West European Workers Movement as well as for the lawyers of Amnesty International to attend the hearings. We are raising these demands as socialists who know that this repressive attitude of the Czechoslovak authorities contradicts the socialist ideas.'"

CSO: 2400

'RUDE PRAVO' ANALYSES WORLD DEVELOPMENT IN THE LAST DECADE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Jun 79 p 5 AU

[Editorial: "For Peace and Social Progress; On the 10th Anniversary of the Moscow Consultation of Communist and Workers Parties; An Event That Accelerated the Tide of World Revolutionary Transformations"]

[Excerpts] The last few decades have been imbued with enormous changes in the lives and the position of individual countries and whole nations in their struggle for maintaining world peace and creating conditions for social progress, national independence, democracy and socialism. The Moscow consultation of 1969 and the conclusions and documents adopted at it are of extraordinary significance in this broad and comprehensive struggle. The consultation in itself was a significant event since it was a world forum of the vanguard of the international workers class, a class that represents the major revolutionary force of the present. The main issue discussed at the consultation by representatives of 75 communist and workers parties was formulated as follows: "The present tasks of the struggle against imperialism and the unity of action of the communist and workers parties and of all antiimperialist forces."

If we reflect today--after a lapse of 10 years--on the conclusions adopted by the communist and workers parties in Moscow in June 1969, we can note that the consultation yielded a number of new generalizations, experiences and conclusions, a number of recommendations and suggestions concerning the fraternal parties' work in the given historical period, without violations their autonomy, independence and creative approach.

It has been confirmed--as many times before--that communists are capable of working out an action program that corresponds to the objective needs of the social development and is, therefore, strongly politically charged.

Significance of the Communist Movement's Unity

The participants in the consultations considered the unity of the communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism the most important prerequisite for the cohesion of all anti-imperialist forces.

It is generally known that these problems are currently in the center of ideological discussions in some parties of our movement. Revolutionary approach requires a continuous enhancement of the movement, the search for new and higher forms and methods of cooperation and international solidarity among the individual parties and the movement as a whole, in order to eliminate contingent differences or disputes in a comradely discussion. The struggle for revolutionary internationalist positions is, at the same time, a struggle for the creative development and purity of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin and a struggle against various revisionist and opportunist trends.

The forces of the communist movement have strengthened immensely over the past 10 years. Today there are more than 70 million fighters organized in 93 parties. A considerable part of them, naturally, in the socialist countries where the fraternal parties are heading the construction of a neo society. Fraternal parties operate in 72 non-socialist countries. The number of members of these parties has increased by more than 1 million in the past 5 years alone. Election results in the individual countries of the capitalist world show that additional dozens of millions of voters give their votes to the communists and their program for reconstructing the old world.

International cohesion and combat internationalist unity of fraternal parties in various countries has deepened considerably in the past decade. The everyday life of the movement is now characterized by a firmer cohesion than heretofore and by the growing need for permanent contacts and coordination of actions; this also expresses the main trend in the development of the movement.

The consolidation of the communist movement, its inner cohesion and unity, made it possible for the movement to increase substantially its contribution to the joint struggle of nations against imperialism. It can be said with absolute certainty that in the past 10 years the communist movement has participated--on the basis of the program of the Moscow consultation of 1969--very actively in the solution of the current and most topical problems of international life.

The fraternal parties are devoting great and steadily growing attention to the mobilization of the masses for the struggle for reducing international tension and reconstructing profoundly the entire system of international relations, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Mankind has lived through this decade without [experiencing] war. The Soviet Union, the entire socialist community and the revolutionary and progressive movement throughout the world have the decisive merit in this. Communists contributed decisively to making the principles of peaceful coexistence into international legal principles.

Development of the Socialist Community

The world has undergone great changes in these 10 years. Communists have been the decisive force changing the world. Thanks to this, the socialist countries have achieved new successes both in the economic and the social sphere. The joint base of their social order, all-round mutual cooperation and fundamental unity of interests--ensuing from Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism--have further strengthened.

World socialism has entered a new stage of its growth, linked with the building of advanced socialism in the Soviet Union and with the start of building an advanced socialist society in other countries, including Czechoslovakia. The world rightly views the socialist community as the fundamental dynamic economic force of the present and the main factors of peace policy in the world.

After the Moscow meeting the nations of the world could convince themselves by numerous examples of what invaluable material and moral assistance the socialist community extends to all those fighting for freedom and independence. They convinced themselves again that the solicitude of the CPSU, the CPCZ and other fraternal parties for strengthening the world socialist system is at the same time a solicitude for the enhancement of the world revolutionary process, for an effective struggle against imperialism. One of the most important orientations of the activity of communists in those years has been the struggle for liquidating the imperialist aggression against Vietnam. Thanks to the selfless assistance of the CPSU, the fraternal parties of other socialist countries and all progressive mankind, the Vietnamese people prevailed. The socialist community has been enlarged by a new member--the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

The fascist regimes in Portugal, Greece and Spain have disappeared from the political map of Europe. All this shows the growing influence of the individual communist parties in their own countries. The communist parties of France, Italy, Portugal, Japan, Finland, Greece, Cyprus and other countries have become such a great political force in their countries that the ruling circles always have to take into consideration the positions taken by communists.

The Strength of Marxism-Leninism

After the consultation of 1969 the communist movement has gained even firmer ground as the leader of mankind's spiritual development and its ideological vanguard. This is due, above all, to its faithfulness to Marxism-Leninism as the most revolutionary and humane doctrine of our times. Life confirms that the strength and the merits of communists consist in that they operate in harmony with the objective laws governing social development and implement the historical mission of the workers class. There is ample evidence testifying to the truly impressive progress of the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas in the world and to the growing attractiveness of these ideas. Nations liberating themselves from the bondage of colonialism, dictatorship and oppression are seeking paths of development based on this doctrine--for example in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Afghanistan and in other countries.

No matter how much the ideologues of imperialism try to cast doubt on the values of socialism and its historical successes, it remains a fact that it is socialism and only socialism that solves all basic questions in the interest of the working people and that it is gaining increasingly broad positions and enlists ever new determined fighters.

The great changes that have taken place in the world in the past decade, particularly the profound changes in international relations, are thus inseparably linked with the activities of the world communist movement.

The aggressor forces did not succeed in attaining their main goals, nor did the world anticommunist forces succeed in halting the development of socialism with the aid of the so-called Chinese card; socialism continues to develop rapidly. They have not succeeded in any part of the world in putting an end to the National Liberation Struggle. On the contrary, this struggle continues to grow and the day is not far away when the nations of the world will take, once and for all, their fate into their own hands. This is testified to by developments in Asia, Africa, Latin America and in other parts of the world.

No matter which aspect of the world development in the last decade we look at, all of them confirm convincingly the conclusion of the consultation that stated that imperialism is no longer capable of reversing the present world development, which is unfavorable for it because the fundamental orientation of world development is determined by the forces of revolution and socialism, peace and national liberation movement.

Life Confirmed the Conclusions of the Consultation

The events of the last few years confirm at the same time the viability and topical nature of the assessment of present imperialism made by the Moscow consultation. Imperialism has not lost its aggressive character. Its most reactionary forces still harbor the hope that they will succeed in destroying, disturbing or changing the positive processes being enacted on the world stage. Their influence is manifested in such spheres as the continuing arms race, anti-Soviet campaigns and the like.

However, the possibilities of these forces are considerably limited today. They are restricted, above all, by the growing strength of the Soviet Union, the entire socialist community, the international communist and workers movement and all democratic, peace-loving forces. Other factors limiting the aggressive efforts of reactionary imperialist forces are also becoming increasingly manifest today. This is true of the more acute intra-imperialist disputes in the economic, social, political and ideological spheres, which weaken increasingly the capitalist world as a whole.

If we confront the main ideas pronounced at the consultation with the colorful panorama of events that have taken place in the world in the last 10 years, we will convince ourselves easily that--in their basic features--these events correspond fully to the forecasts formulated at the consultation.

SLOVAK DAILY ON ANNIVERSARY OF HITLER ATTACK ON USSR

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Jun 79 p 6 AU

[Article by Vladimir Daubner: "On 22 June 1941 the Troops of Fascist Germany Attacked the USSR. What Had Hitler Not Reckoned With? Europe's Arms Factories Worked for Hitler; Three Powerful Groupings of Fascist Troops Were To Disrupt the Soviet Union; the Babarossa Plan Counted on a Lightning War. The people's Heroism--Factor No 1"]

[Excerpt] The Soviet government and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) hoped to succeed in delaying the attack on the USSR. The nonaggression pact concluded by the USSR with Germany was meant to safeguard peace for the USSR, at least for a certain period. True, nobody harbored any illusions about Hitler's character and nobody counted on the treaty document being capable of halting the fascist chieftains' aggressive lust, but the Soviet Union still needed a certain time for a forcible answer. The Soviet government, and J. V. Stalin personally, did everything so as not to provide a pretext for fascist Germany to undertake a perfidious attack. But Hitler needed no pretext. He followed the principle: victors are never judged! In this he proceeded from the experience yielded by the victorious campaign against European countries, and he was convinced that this time, too, he would win.

CSO: 2400

BRIEFS

PRC'S INTERFERENCE CRITICIZED--Bratislava--The Slovak daily PRAVDA criticized today Beijing's interference in the internal affairs of states in the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) under the pretext of "neighbourly" relations. Beijing ever more intensively arms and supports separatist and subversive groups in ASEAN countries, and through Chinese and pro-Maoist agents penetrates the territory of these states. The aim of Beijing's policy is clear: Under the banner of struggle against "hegemonism" to carry out its own hegemonism in the area. It tries to cause chaos and unrest in the countries, to disrupt their economic development and prevent their cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The ASEAN countries soon exposed Beijing's transparent speculations and the treacherous policy which resulted in the aggression against Vietnam. "Statements by prominent ASEAN politicians about continued policy of neutrality in relations with Indochinese states are the best reply to Beijing's expansionist intentions. This position reflects the effort of ASEAN nations not to allow a return to the recent past when imperialism dragged ASEAN countries into a war going against their national interests." [Text] [Prague CTK in English 0804 GMT 23 Jun 79 LD]

PRC'S HARASSMENT OF MONGOLIA CONDEMNED--Bratislava--The recent violation of Mongolian air space by a Chinese plane which penetrated as far as 150 kilometres beyond the border proves that Beijing has not abandoned the policy of pressure on neighbouring states, the Slovak daily PRAVDA wrote today. It pointed out that since its independence, the Mongolian People's Republic has been the target of Beijing's expansionist interests, and recalled that the unsuccessful attempts to annex Mongolia seventeen years ago led the Maoists to overt hostile actions against this sovereign country. Continuing Chinese attempts to annex Mongolia are expressed in extensive actions aimed at the realization of Beijing's hegemonist plans--interference in Mongolia's internal affairs, construction of military-strategic facilities and deployment of numerous military units along the Chinese-Mongolian border as well as provocative subversive actions on Mongolian territory, the daily said. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 0820 GMT 26 Jun 79 LD]

U.S. SECURITY PERSONNEL CONDEMNED--Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 19 June on page 5 carries the 1,500-word "Notebook" of its special Vienna correspondent Josef Vesely, which contains observations dealing with some aspects of the Vienna summit. In this "Notebook" Vesely deals, among other things, briefly with the behavior of the U.S. security personnel in Vienna. He writes: "Colleagues from Austria and the FRG confided to their Soviet friends in the press center that sometimes they are terrified when watching the American 'bodyguards' in action. Before the eyes of numerous onlookers they gave a thrashing to an Austrian journalist. These western journalists then remarked that the Soviet counterparts of the 'bodyguards' from overseas are incomparably more discrete, without displaying their effectiveness in a style reminiscent of the Wild West." [Editorial Report]

CSO: 2400

RELATIONS WITH THIRD WORLD LIBERATION MOVEMENT OUTLINED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 24 No 5, May 79
signed to press 29 Mar 79 pp 54-69

[Article by Prof Dr Helmut Mardek and Prof Dr Renate Wuensche, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence, Potsdam-Babelsberg: "The Relations of the GDR with the National Liberation Movement and the States of Asia, Africa, and Latin America." For translations of related articles see the following JPRS issues of this series: 73081, 26 Mar 79 No 1661 pp 14-39 and 73206, 11 Apr 79 No 1668 pp 13-25 and 26-38. For a translation of the DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK Jan 79 article cited in footnote 9 see JPRS 73195, 11 Apr 79, TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE--ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS No 1879 pp 34-44]

[Text] Among the positive results of three decades of GDR foreign policy are the steadily intensifying cooperative relations with the peoples fighting for their national and social liberation and the extension of the close cooperation with the liberated nations of Asia and Africa and the countries of Latin America. At the time of the establishment of the GDR, only a few peoples in Asia and Africa--besides the Latin American countries--had attained their national independence. Only gradually did the struggle against colonial oppression, deprivation of rights, and dependence extend to all continents and at the same time develop into a crucial element of international relations. In league with the USSR and the other socialist states, the GDR from the outset supported the righteous struggle of the peoples for the liquidation of the imperialist colonial system and the implementation of their right of self-determination. Thus in this area, too, the GDR has continued the tradition of the revolutionary German workers' movement.

From the beginning, the socialist German state showed solidarity and at the same time increasingly received solidary support in its endeavor to gain worldwide international recognition. The fact that today there remain only residues of colonialism--the elimination of which is being pursued unrelentingly--and that more than 100 states in Asia, Africa and Latin America--summarily called developing countries--play an active role in the international relations of our time is a telling manifestation of the radical

changes in the international distribution of forces.

Basic Positions, Principles and Objectives of the Relations

From the first day of its existence, the qualitative new character of the GDR's foreign policy was also reflected in its attitude toward the peoples' struggle for national and social liberation and toward the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The GDR broke decisively and for good with the aggressive and colonialist foreign policy of German imperialism; living up to the traditions of the revolutionary German workers' movement, it affirmed the principles of respect for the sovereignty of peoples and states, equality of rights and status, and support of the struggle for national self-determination. Side by side with the USSR and the other states of the socialist community, the GDR built the antiimperialist alliance with the national liberation movement and developed the cooperation with the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America.²

The Ninth SED Congress affirmed this foreign policy course--which had been pursued since the establishment of the GDR and which was aimed at developing close cooperative relations with the antiimperialist national liberation movement and many-sided cooperation with the countries of Latin America and with the states of Asia and Africa that had emerged as a result of the liberation movement--and articulated objectives in keeping with the new developments.³ This course implies solidary support of the struggle for implementation of the right of national self-determination, support of the struggle against national and colonial oppression and for national sovereignty--as a basic prerequisite for the final liberation from imperialism--as well as support of the struggle against the economic backwardness caused by colonialism and--bound up with it--the struggle for economic independence from imperialism, for international trade relations based on equal rights, and for social progress.

From these basic positions inspired by socialism, there follow the principles of GDR foreign policy vis-a-vis the national liberation movement and the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. First and foremost, it is the principle based on proletarian internationalism: The principle of antiimperialist solidarity with all peoples fighting for national and social liberation and with the countries engaged in defending themselves against attacks by the imperialist states and by the Peking leadership. There is no doubt that in the relations with these countries--which are modified in accordance with the process of differentiation between the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America--the predominant element is the principle of peaceful coexistence. The relations between the GDR and the socialist-oriented states comprise essential elements of proletarian internationalism; in terms of quality, they are characterized by continuous improvement.

Proceeding from these basic positions and principles, the GDR has formulated the following key objectives in regard to the policy pursued vis-a-vis the national liberation movement and in regard to its relations with

the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America:

Firstly, solidary support of the struggle for national and social liberation waged by the various peoples against colonialism, imperialism, neocolonialism and racism.

Secondly, consolidation of the bilateral relations with the nonaligned countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America; intensification of international cooperation in the struggle for peace, detente and disarmament; and democratic reorganization of the international trade relations.

Thirdly, intensification of the fraternal cooperation with the socialist-oriented countries.

Fourthly, consolidation of foreign trade relations on the basis of mutual profitability.

Solidary Support of the Struggle for National and Social Liberation

Thanks to the cooperation of the principal antiimperialist forces of our time, the national liberation movement was able to score further great victories. Almost all of the countries that had been under colonial rule shook off for good the colonial yoke and attained national independence. Since the Ninth SED Congress, the main thrust of the antiimperialist solidarity with the national liberation movement has been directed toward giving support to all those peoples that are still fighting against colonial and racist oppression, especially in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, but also to the Arab people of Palestine and its legitimate representative, the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization]. At the same time, solidarity and support are focused on the struggle of the various peoples--especially the struggle of the Chilean people--against fascist dictatorships, on the struggle of the Arab peoples for a more comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the Near Eastern conflict, and, last not least, on the struggle against imperialist aggression, especially against the imperialist conspiracy directed against the progressive developments in Africa.

On account of its consistent struggle against colonialism, racism and apartheid, the GDR is held in great esteem by the African peoples and states--a fact which was again confirmed and further corroborated during the visit which a GDR delegation headed by Erich Honecker paid to a number of African states in February 1979. Now as ever, the GDR supports the legitimate goal of the nations finally to liberate the African continent from colonial and racist rule. Together with the other states of the socialist community, the GDR demands

--that the apartheid regime be totally liquidated, that the rule of terror be ended, that human rights be respected, and that the right of self-determination of the people of the Republic of South Africa be implemented;

- that the threat to peace caused to a large extent by the nuclear armament efforts of the Republic of South Africa be resolutely checked;
- that the acts of aggression committed by the racist regimes in Pretoria and Salisbury against their neighbors be sharply condemned;
- that South Africa immediately withdraw its troops from Namibia, that the territorial integrity of the country be respected, and that the power be handed over to the people of Namibia whose sole legitimate representative is the SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization];
- that the political power be handed over to the people of Zimbabwe whose struggle for independence is directed by the Patriotic Front.

For the implementation of these demands, the GDR calls for observance of the sanctions passed by the United Nations, for further economic and financial sanctions, and for an arms embargo. The GDR advocates worldwide political isolation of the racist regimes, termination of diplomatic, consular and other relations, and unequivocal affirmation of support for the national liberation movements and the independent African states exposed to continuous threats and aggression by the racist regimes.

The GDR has always faithfully complied with the UN's boycott resolutions against the racist South African regime; it was among the first states to ratify the convention concerning the branding and punishment of the crime of apartheid. As a member of the UN's Antiapartheid Committee, the GDR is making a constructive contribution. The UN-decreed decade of opposition to racism and racial discrimination witnessed a great variety of effective measures. The GDR's binding and active commitment against colonialism and racism is also reflected in the establishment of a government commission. Established on 20 May 1978, the commission coordinates the activities of the GDR in the "International Antiapartheid Year." It is composed of a great variety of the GDR's social forces and organizations. Its extensive program underscores the great importance which the GDR attaches to the struggle against colonialism, racism and apartheid. In this regard, the GDR proceeds from the assumption that the struggle against colonialism, apartheid and racism is bound up with the struggle for world peace.

The GDR's attitude toward the national liberation organizations of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe, and the Republic of South Africa is characterized by active solidarity. This solidarity is reflected in political-diplomatic support, extensive material assistance, and steadily intensifying political cooperation. In May 1978, at the invitation of the SED Central Committee, a delegation of South Africa's African National Congress headed by its president, Oliver Tambo, visited the GDR. During this visit, the delegation was received by E. Honecker. The talks again confirmed that in regard to the basic problems of the antiimperialist struggle and in regard to the assessment of current international issues, there is complete

agreement between the SED and the ANC [African National Congress] of South Africa, which agreement was also reflected in a "Joint Communiqué." In addition, the SED and the ANC concluded an agreement concerning the intensification of their cooperation in 1978/79. Of special importance in this connection was the establishment in November 1978 of an official ANC mission in the GDR.

In December 1977, at the invitation of the SED Central Committee, a delegation of the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO) headed by its president, Sam Nuyoma, paid an official visit to the GDR. The delegation conducted talks with E. Honecker and an SED delegation headed by H. Axen. The visit underscored anew that the GDR firmly stands by the Namibian people and its sole legitimate representative, the SWAPO. Both sides emphatically criticized imperialist attempts to impose a neocolonialist solution on the Namibian people. As a result of the visit, a "Joint Communiqué" was issued; the SED and the SWAPO also concluded an agreement concerning cooperation in 1978 and 1979. The position taken by the GDR at the UN Plenary Assembly's special conference on Namibia in April 1978 confirmed the consistent policy of solidarity with the Namibian people and the SWAPO. In October 1978, an official SWAPO mission was established in the GDR. Current international problems and problems concerning further cooperation were again the key issues during a meeting between S. Nuyoma and E. Honecker, which took place in February 1979 during the visit of a GDR party and state delegation to Angola.

From 7 to 11 March 1977, a ZAPU [Zimbabwe African People's Union] delegation headed by the ZAPU chairman and co-president of the Patriotic Front, Joshua Nkomo, visited the GDR. In his talk with E. Honecker, J. Nkomo expressed his appreciation and gratitude for the GDR's antiimperialist solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe. An important step in the consolidation and development of the relations between the GDR and the national liberation movement of Zimbabwe was the establishment on 4 January 1978 of an official ZAPU mission in Berlin.

In regard to the Near East conflict, the GDR likewise pursues a consistent policy which is an integral part of a concept shared by all of the states of the socialist community. The GDR proceeds from the assumption that a just and lasting peace solution requires the fulfillment of all aspects of the following key demands:

- Total withdrawal of all Israeli troops from the Arab territories occupied in 1967.
- Implementation of the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to establish an independent state.
- Recognition of the right of all states of this region to independence and security.

The GDR regards these basic demands as an organic whole; it has emphatically warned against any separate agreements or separate, partial solutions. According to the GDR, the key issues cannot be resolved in this way, and the GDR feels that such measures are intended to help imperialism to establish direct control over the region and thus are apt further to complicate and aggravate the situation in the Near East.

A key element in the GDR's policy toward the Arab peoples is the all-inclusive support of the Palestinian people. As regards its position on the Palestine problem, the GDR is guided by the following principles:

- The implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people is a predominantly political issue, not exclusively a humanitarian or refugee problem. It is a question of the realization of this people's right of self-determination.
- The enforcement of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people is a key problem, without a just solution to which the Near East conflict cannot be settled and a lasting peace is unattainable.

The GDR advocates implementation of the Palestinians' right of self-determination without external interference, including their right to establish an independent state; recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and respect for the PLO as an equal partner in all negotiations concerning the Near East conflict. Apart from its continuous support of the just cause of the Palestinian people in all UN organs and at other international conferences, the GDR is making a constructive contribution as a member of the UN committee entrusted with the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

The bilateral relations with the PLO have steadily been expanding and intensifying. They are characterized by mutual trust reflected in the regular visits to the GDR by leading PLO representatives. Thus, at the invitation of the SED Central Committee, a PLO delegation headed by Y. Arafat visited the GDR in March and June 1978. The PLO maintains an official representative in the GDR.

Due to the radical political and social changes which took place in Afghanistan as a result of the democratic people's revolution of 27 April 1978, the relations between the GDR and this country underwent positive changes in regard to both quantity and quality. The GDR highly respects the great efforts put forth by the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan with the object of developing a peace-loving and progressive country. Of late, problems concerning the relations between the two countries were on several occasions the subject of discussions which produced important results. Thus, on 13 July 1978, the two states concluded a trade agreement aimed at increasing the exchange of goods and at expanding economic cooperation.

The GDR is also part of the worldwide front of solidarity with the Latin American peoples in their struggle against fascist regimes. In this struggle, the GDR gives special support to the fighting people of Chile. The crimes of the fascist junta under Pinochet have been condemned and the Pinochet clique has been found guilty of brutal violations of human rights. The Chilean patriots receive unrestricted support from the GDR which in concert with the socialist fraternal countries spares no effort in rendering assistance. The international front of solidarity scored a great victory when the secretary general of the Chilean Communist Party, Luis Corvalan, was released. On the occasion of his visit to the GDR in 1977, there took place huge demonstrations of GDR solidarity with the fighting people of Chile. Likewise, in all international organs, the GDR stands up for the rights of the Chilean patriots and backs the condemnation of the fascist junta in Chile. The GDR does not maintain diplomatic relations with this regime.

Common Positions Regarding Basic International Problems

At present, the GDR maintains diplomatic relations with almost all of the nonaligned nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and many-sided cooperation is unfolding. Due to the worldwide recognition of the GDR and on account of the fact that as a result of international detente these states were provided with opportunities to exercise their sovereign rights, conditions have been created that are conducive to successful cooperation in various fields. It goes without saying that this is not a one-sided process dependent exclusively on the GDR. As regards the state and the intensity of the relations, the respective partners are equally influential. The developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are by no means a uniform whole; on the contrary, they differ in many respects. In the last few years in particular, there has taken place--due to a great many different factors--a process of extraordinarily sharp differentiation. This differentiation is reflected primarily in the course of development chosen, in the degree of dependence on imperialism, and in the attempt to promote an anti-imperialist foreign policy designed to further the causes of peace, security and cooperation. This intensifying process of differentiation extends to the movement of nonaligned states. It is only natural that such developmental diversity may at times produce differences in regard to both the form and the intensity of the relations.

As a matter of principle, the GDR proceeds from the assumption that in regard to current international relations the movement of nonaligned states has further increased in importance and that its own relations with the majority of these states can be further developed and consolidated. As is shown by the following statement, the Ninth SED Congress reaffirmed this foreign policy position of the GDR:

"In concert with the other socialist states, we are directing close attention to the unremitting effort of strengthening the alliance with the non-aligned countries which represent a positive force in international

relations and in the struggle for peace, security and peaceful coexistence."⁴

In regard to basic problems concerning international relations, the GDR's position is identical with--or approximates--the position taken by the non-aligned states. Among the key issues in this regard are

- the struggle for peace, security, peaceful coexistence and detente;
- for arms limitation and disarmament;
- against colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid;
- for a democratic reorganization of international trade relations.

Together with the other states of the socialist community, the GDR emphatically advocates continuation of the process of detente, the safeguarding of peace, and further promotion of peaceful coexistence. In this connection, the GDR opposes any practices and attempts by forces hostile to detente to disrupt this process. In regard to these basic problems pertaining to current international relations, the position taken by the GDR is in agreement with that of many nonaligned states. During mutual visits and talks at the highest level, this fact was repeatedly confirmed. Thus, the "Joint Declaration German Democratic Republic--Republic of Zambia" states "that the present process of international detente promotes international cooperation and facilitates mutual understanding among the states. They agreed to step up their efforts so as to make this process irreversible."⁵ On the road toward further progress in the process of easing international tension, a key issue is disarmament. Forces hostile to detente, which are accelerating the arms race, have stepped up their activities. For this reason, it will be increasingly difficult to make further progress in regard to political detente, unless equivalent progress is made in the military realm. These views are increasingly shared by the nonaligned states. The UN's Special Disarmament Conference of 1978 showed that in many respects the GDR's consistent peace policy is in agreement with the position taken by the majority of the nonaligned states--a position fundamentally opposed to the arms race. This fact was also reflected in the "Joint Declaration GDR--India" which was signed in consequence of the visit to India--from 8 to 12 January 1979--by a GDR delegation headed by E. Honecker. In this declaration, both sides agree "that the Special Disarmament Conference of the UN Plenary Assembly produced positive results and they stress the necessity to reach as soon as possible a binding agreement on disarmament. Both sides advocate the convocation of a world disarmament conference."⁶

In the struggle for peace, disarmament, detente and security, the efforts to find a solution to the Near East conflict are of great importance. From the outset, the GDR has supported these efforts toward a just, stable and lasting peace in the Near East. In its close cooperation with many Arab states, the GDR repeatedly found its views on this important problem to be

in agreement with those of its partners. On the occasion of the visit to the GDR by the Syrian president, H. Assad, in October 1978, both sides emphasized the need for a just peace settlement in the Near East and rejected any separate agreements. The dangerous conspiracy involving imperialism and the reactionary forces--which was triggered by the Camp David agreement--makes imperative the alliance of all progressive antiimperialist and national forces, the consolidation of their cooperation and of their collaboration with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community. In the "Joint Declaration" which was signed by the GDR and the SLAVJ [Socialist Libyan Arab People's Jamahiriya] in February 1979 on the occasion of the visit to Libya by a GDR delegation headed by E. Honecker, both sides affirmed "their unequivocal rejection of the Camp David agreement--which they regard as a new stage of the Zionist-imperialist conspiracy against the Arab peoples and against the Palestinian people in particular--and of all negative consequences resulting from it." Both sides again emphasized that only a just and democratic settlement of the Near East conflict could guarantee world peace and the rights and liberties of the peoples of this region.

In the struggle for peace, disarmament, security and detente, the nonaligned states attach more and more importance to the attempts to establish a "New International Economic System." It was only on account of the easing of international tension that it became possible to discuss with due emphasis the developing countries' longstanding, justified demands for a fundamental reorganization of international trade relations. Presently, these demands are the subject of numerous bilateral and multilateral conferences, deliberations and discussions, especially within the framework of the United Nations and the UN's special organizations. In their antiimperialist struggle against backwardness, dependence and discrimination and against their unequal position in the capitalist world economy, the developing countries are supported by the community of socialist states. The GDR, too, has repeatedly set forth its position on these issues and has drawn attention to the interconnection between detente and development. All of the recent high-level visits and talks between leading representatives of the GDR and of the non-aligned states focused on the problems involved in a democratic reorganization of international trade relations and on an exchange of views on this subject. The friendship agreements which the GDR concluded with Angola and Mozambique in February 1979 likewise affirmed the resolve of the partners to do their best to bring about a democratic reorganization of international trade relations and to establish a new, fairer international economic system based on equality.

Friendship Agreements With Socialist-Oriented Countries

In consequence of the consistent struggle for continued national and social liberation, several Asian and African states have begun to pursue a socialist-oriented course. In the last few years, the number of these states has been increasing steadily. Regardless of the differences in regard to the situation of the individual countries and in spite of the fact that the

progressive development is confronted with numerous objective and subjective difficulties and is subject to intensifying attacks by both the internal and external counterrevolution, the idea of a socialist orientation has taken root and has become an integral part of the peoples' aspirations and thinking.

The socialist-oriented countries are especially vulnerable to the pressure exerted by imperialism. The Moscow Conference of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Advisory Committee of November 1978 again brought home to the community of socialist states the necessity to intensify the relations with these countries. "It is necessary to develop many-sided and comradely cooperation with the young socialist-oriented states."⁸ The foreign policy of the GDR likewise focuses on the relations with the socialist-oriented states.

Between the GDR and Socialist Ethiopia, for example, close comradely cooperation has been established within a relatively short time. A high point of this cooperation was the visit to the GDR by the chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council, chairman of the Council of Ministers and commander in chief of the revolutionary army, Lieutenant Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, in November 1978, during which a "Joint Communiqué" was signed. Of special significance is the "Declaration Concerning the Principles of Friendship and Cooperation Between the German Democratic Republic and Socialist Ethiopia" which was agreed upon by E. Honecker and Mengistu Haile Mariam on 29 November 1978. This declaration which contains the principles governing the relations between the two states forms a stable basis for the development of long-term and continuous cooperation between them.

In the socialist-oriented countries, there are emerging numerous political and economic problems, for the solution of which these countries can fall back on the experience of the socialist states. Thus the experience gained by the GDR during the period of the antifascist-democratic upheaval and of the establishment of the foundations of socialism is becoming increasingly valuable. The sharing of experience on various levels has turned to be an important element of the reciprocal relations. It is not only the relations between the governments that are becoming increasingly important, but also the relations between the SED and the Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary-democratic parties as well as the cooperation among the various mass organizations. In the last few years, the SED has intensified and further expanded its relations with African parties, e.g. with the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] Labor Party and with the FRELIMO [Mozambique Liberation Front].

Having supported the longstanding struggle of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique against Portuguese colonial rule and having cooperated with the revolutionary liberation movements, MPLA and FRELIMO, the GDR has in the last 3 years developed especially constructive relations with the People's Republic of Angola and the People's Republic of Mozambique. The leaders of these two states conceive a socialist orientation on the basis of scientific

socialism; they recognized the necessity to develop avant-garde parties for the guidance and control of the revolutionary processes and they attach great importance to the relations with the USSR and the other states of the socialist community.

As regards the accomplishment of the complex tasks confronting them, the two countries rely above all on the assistance rendered by the Soviet Union, Cuba, and other socialist states. With the GDR, they have likewise developed stable political relations, increasing economic cooperation, and cooperation in regard to key issues of current international relations. As regards the development of relations with the People's Republic of Angola, the visit to Angola--from 17 to 20 June 1977--by a GDR party and government delegation was an important factor. The delegation engaged in an extensive exchange of ideas with the MPLA Politburo which was headed by A. Neto. The two parties drew up proposals concerning the development of further cooperation in all fields. The First MPLA Congress, which took place at the beginning of December 1977, provided further impulses for the development of the relations. A GDR party delegation headed by H. Sindermann was present at this congress which was of crucial importance for the development of Angola. The congress affirmed that for Angola the socialist countries are natural allies with whom extensive relations of friendship and of mutual support and cooperation are being developed. Only a few months later, the two countries concluded an agreement concerning the cooperation between the SED and the MPLA Labor Party in 1978 and 1979. The quality of the relations is characterized not least by the development of foreign trade: in 1977, foreign trade turnover amounted to 236 million valuta marks. Thus the People's Republic of Angola is now in seventh place in regard to the GDR's foreign trade with developing countries. A large number of GDR experts are lending effective assistance to the young republic in many different fields.⁹

The relations with the People's Republic of Mozambique have produced equally good results.¹⁰ These relations date back to the beginning of the national liberation struggle; they were strongly influenced by the visit of a FRELIMO delegation headed by its president, S. Machel, in December 1974, i.e. prior to the official proclamation of national independence. The Third FRELIMO Congress in February 1977, at which an SED delegation was present, provided new impulses for the further development of the alliance. From 8 to 16 November 1977, a delegation headed by M. dos Santos, Minister for Development and Economic Planning and member of the Standing Political Committee of the FRELIMO Central Committee, visited Berlin. The parties signed an agreement concerning economic and technical cooperation as well as other agreements concerning cooperation in special fields and they resolved to establish a joint economic committee. On 15 April 1977, a long-term trade agreement was concluded. In accordance with the protocol of the first session of the Joint Economic Committee in July 1978, the exchange of goods is to be greatly increased, beginning in 1979. The dispatch of experts and the assistance rendered in regard to the vocational training of Mozambiquan workers are further important elements of the cooperative relations.

The development of this extensive and steadily increasing cooperation between the GDR and the people's republics of Angola and Mozambique prepared the ground for the agreements concerning cooperation and friendship which were concluded in consequence of the visit--in February 1979--by the GDR party and state delegation headed by E. Honecker. Due to the objective and subjective conditions that had been created, it was feasible and necessary to raise the relations between the GDR and its two partners to a qualitatively higher level. Both agreements serve the interests of the peoples and states; they will further the long-term consolidation of the bilateral relations and will make more effective the cooperation in international organs and on international problems. For the GDR, these are the first friendship agreements with developing countries. Both agreements will greatly contribute to the further extension of cooperation between the people's republics of Angola and Mozambique and the socialist community.

The "Agreement Concerning Friendship and Cooperation Between the German Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Angola"¹¹ was signed in Luanda on 19 February 1979, and the "Agreement Concerning Friendship and Cooperation Between the German Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Mozambique"¹², in Maputo on 24 February 1979. Both agreements were concluded for a term of 20 years and they will automatically be extended by an additional 5 years, unless one of the contracting parties gives notice--12 months before expiration--of the intent to terminate the agreement.

As regards their main thrust, the agreements can be characterized as follows:

- In the preamble, the contracting parties stress their desire to consolidate their fraternal cooperation and to help further to strengthen the alliance of all forces fighting for peace, democracy and social progress. They emphasize that their relations are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.
- The political, economic, scientific-technological and cultural cooperation between the respective parties is to be continued and expanded so as to provide mutual support in regard to the further advancement of socio-economic achievements and social development.
- On the basis of identical positions in regard to basic problems of international relations--which positions are embodied in the agreement--, the contracting parties agree to engage in regular consultations on international problems.

The two agreements on friendship and cooperation mark a new stage in the development of bilateral relations between the states involved. Moreover, they are indicative of a new quality in the relations between the GDR and the developing countries. In sub-Saharan Africa, the agreements strengthen the position of the socialist-oriented states of Angola and Mozambique,

since they make it known to friends and enemies that the two states are assured of reliable support by the socialist states. Finally, as a result of the agreements, new positive factors have come into play in international relations. The agreements can be regarded as models, since they were concluded on the basis of total equality and respect for the sovereignty and interests of the respective partner. They were not concluded at the expense of third parties; rather, they sprang from the desire for disarmament and for the consolidation of peace and detente. The two agreements are likely to reinforce the idea of peaceful cooperation among the peoples and states and they undoubtedly enrich the international relations of our time.

Consolidation of Foreign Economic and Trade Relations

In the GDR's foreign policy toward the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the foreign economic and trade relations have for a long time been an integral element.¹³ Since the establishment of the first economic contacts with countries such as India, Egypt and Lebanon at the beginning of the 1950's, the foreign trade relations have greatly expanded and have undergone structural changes: In 1950, the GDR's foreign trade turnover with developing countries totaled 13.6 million and in 1970, 1601.4 million valuta marks; by 1977, it had increased to 4504.1 million valuta marks (effective prices).

In regard to the development of its economic relations with developing countries, the GDR is guided by its economic plans which are coordinated with those of the other CEMA states. Since it must meet the plan targets for an industry highly dependent on imports of raw materials, the GDR is very much interested in long-term import arrangements assuring a stable supply of such materials. At the same time, the GDR supports these countries in their efforts to overcome colonial backwardness, to attain economic independence from imperialism and to promote economic development, in particular industrialization. These goals of the GDR's foreign economic and trade policy--which are in accordance with the interests of either side--are based on the principles of noninterference in internal affairs, mutual profitability, and respect for the respective country's sovereignty and equality. At the Ninth SED Congress, the continuity of the GDR's foreign economic policy was reaffirmed:

"The GDR is interested in developing long-term and stable economic cooperation with the developing countries on the basis of mutual profitability. The agreements concluded with a number of these countries and the activity of the economic committees provide a sound foundation for this work."¹⁴

Increasingly, the economic relations between the GDR and developing countries have been the subject of conferences and arrangements. The resultant long-term agreements, which extend to the 1980's, include economic agreements between the GDR and the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, and

Socialist Ethiopia. The agreements on friendship and cooperation concluded between the GDR and the people's republics of Angola and Mozambique also provide a stable basis for the further development of economic cooperation. Likewise, the economic arrangements made with the Philippine Republic (1977) and with India and Zambia (1979) are indicative of possibilities of productive cooperation. The economic cooperation comprises complexes such as basic industry, the construction industry, metallurgy, the chemical and pharmaceutical industries, electrical engineering, the establishment of machine building enterprises, the expansion of light industry, and certain branches of agriculture. GDR supplies and services are an important factor in regard to the realization of the national development conceptions of these countries. For meeting the requirements of its own economy, the GDR on its part imports above all oil, tropical fruit, phosphates, rubber, nonferrous metals, traditional agricultural products, and timber. At the same time, GDR imports of semifinished and finished products from developing countries are steadily increasing--a reflection of the developing countries increasing industrialization, which enables them to process more and more of their own raw materials, and of the GDR's willingness to offer these countries the desired long-term guarantees concerning the marketing of their export products.

Of great importance are also the agreements on scientific-technological cooperation which the GDR concluded with numerous developing countries. On the basis of these agreements, the GDR assists these countries in the search for and exploitation of natural resources, in research and planning projects concerning the development of industry, through the dispatch of instructors, the development of training centers, and the training of skilled workers and students in the GDR. Both the number of GDR experts assisting the developing countries in the development of their national economies and the number of foreign citizens receiving training in the GDR have increased further.

The conclusion of long-term trade agreements and the scientific-technological cooperation with the developing countries have proved to be an expedient foundation of the relations. These relations meet the requirements of the GDR's socialist planned economy and they satisfy the developing countries' demands for long-term guarantees concerning reliable markets and sources of supply. Among other things, the state foreign trade monopoly of the GDR comprises the advantages of long-term orientation with the principle of doing business in accordance with commercial criteria.

Increasingly, new forms of economic cooperation are winning recognition. Joint work teams have proved a suitable means of implementing long-term agreements. At present, the GDR and a number of developing countries maintain bilateral economic committees or standing committees which engage in high-level discussions concerning the measures necessary for implementing the agreements. Among the countries with which the GDR established such joint economic committees, standing committees, or mixed commissions are Mozambique, Angola, Ethiopia, Iraq, the Philippines, and Mexico.

The longstanding efforts on the part of a number of developing countries to enter into long-term economic cooperation with CEMA are being continued. Apart from Algeria, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and Mexico, it is especially the socialist-oriented countries of Africa--above all Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia--that have of late been interested in close cooperation with CEMA. The GDR takes an active part in these endeavors; it also participates in agreements concerning tripartite cooperation with socialist states, developing countries and other states in regard to the realization of projects in developing countries.

Summing up, there is no doubt that the conditions are favorable in regard to the further development of bilateral cooperation and of cooperation within the framework of the relations between the GDR and the nonaligned states. The GDR will continue to pursue its time-tested foreign policy course vis-a-vis the national liberation movement and the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

FOOTNOTES

1. The article is based on a larger collection of material which is part of a collective study by members of the Potsdam-Babelsberg Institute of International Relations and which will be published this year by the GDR Staatsverlag [State Publishing House] under the title "Aussenpolitik der DDR--drei Jahrzehnte sozialistischer deutscher Friedenspolitik" [GDR Foreign Policy--Three Decades of Socialist German Peace Policy].
2. See W. Haenisch, "The Foreign Policy and the International Relations of the GDR--the Main Developmental Stages," DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, No 3, Berlin, 1979.
3. See E. Honecker, "Bericht des ZK der SED an den IX. Parteitag der SED" [Report by the SED Central Committee to the Ninth SED Congress], Berlin, 1976.
4. Ibid., p 21.
5. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 22 February 1976.
6. Ibid., 12 January 1979.
7. Ibid., 19 February 1979.
8. "Declaration of the Moscow Conference of the Warsaw Pact States," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 24 November 1978.
9. See M. Junghahn and U. Schmidt, "GDR--Economic Partner of the Developing Countries," DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, No 1. Berlin, 1979, pp 44-54.

10. In No 6, 1979, of this journal we will publish an article by I. Schleicher on the development of the FRELIMO and its relations with the SED.
11. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 20 February 1979.
12. Ibid., 25 February 1979.
13. See M. Junghahn and U. Schmidt, op. cit.
14. H. Sindermann, "Bericht zur 'Direktive zum Fuenfjahrplan 1976-1980' an den IX. Parteitag der SED im Mai 1976" [Report on the 'Directive Concerning the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan' to the Ninth SED Congress in May 1976], Berlin, 1976, pp 50-51.

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JUNE 1979 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Jun 79 p 4

[Review by Martin Quill of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 34, No 6, June 1979, signed to press 9 May 1979, pp 561-672: "Communists in the Struggle for Peace." Summaries of the articles by some of the authors referred to below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] The main topic of the June issue of EINHEIT is devoted to the motto, "Peace Policy and Revolutionary Struggle." In his contribution, titled, "The Cooperation Among the Communists," Bruno Mahlow analyzes among other things the active role of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the worldwide peace struggle. "The Dialectics of the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress" is the title of a contribution by Gustav Hertzfeldt. Peter Klein discusses the subject "Disarmament--World Problem of First Priority." Subsequently a brief documentation informs the reader about important phases in the work of the World Peace Movement whose constituent congress took place as long ago as 30 years.

In his article, "Building for the Benefit of the People," Wolfgang Junker takes stock of our housing construction program since the Eighth SED Congress and elucidates the party's concept for solving the housing problem by 1990. Not only has the number of apartments grown substantially but so have the material-technical prerequisites for housing construction. A dynamic increase in performance is an indispensable prerequisite for the coming tasks.

Another EINHEIT article discusses the question of how polytechnical education affects the development of students' personalities. The high value of the means of production entrusted to students and the strict standards for discipline, endurance and reliability demanded of the students by the technological requirements of production are of great importance for the development of moral qualities and attitudes. With the aid of many concrete examples, the article by Juergen Polzin demonstrates how these stipulations adopted by the Eighth Pedagogic Congress of the GDR are borne out by daily practice.

Further contributions are an article on "Prussia and German History" [by Horst Bartel, Ingrid Mittenzwei and Walter Schmidt] and a review of the 25-year work of URANIA [article about the popular science society, titled, "...So That Science May Become Second Nature," by Prof Dr Herbert Meissner, deputy director, Central Institute for Economic Sciences, GDR Academy of Sciences; member of URANIA's presidium office and chairman of the society's Berlin Bezirk executive; EINHEIT pp 568-571]. Finally the 'Facts and Figures' article provides data on the development of our socialist educational system since the establishment of the GDR [by Dr Rudi Schulz, GDR Academy of Pedagogic Sciences, EINHEIT pp 665-668].

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 34 No 6, Jun 79 signed to press 9 May 79
'Resumes' addendum

The Cooperation Among the Communists

[Summary of article by Bruno Mahlow, candidate member, SED Central Auditing Commission; deputy department chief, SED Central Committee; pp 575-583. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] Essential goals formulated at the 1969 Moscow international conference of the communist and workers parties have been fulfilled through the cooperation of the communists with all progressive forces. A common peace strategy is necessary. Simultaneously with the growth of the decisive role of real socialism in the solution of the great issues of our time, the weight and contribution of the other revolutionary forces also are growing. The communists' internationalist solidarity strengthens the common force and that of each individual movement.

SED Urges Discipline for Eurocommunists

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 90, 13 Jun 79 pp 3-4

[Text] IWE Berlin, 13 Jun 79--The theoretical SED journal EINHEIT, without mentioning any names however, has called for discipline and "internationalist solidarity" from the so-called eurocommunist parties in the Western countries. The revolutionary struggle in each country should have to be conducted with regard to the international conditions and overall interests of the communist movement. Weakening the communists' international cooperation would in any event not only mean a weakening of the entire movement; it would sooner or later also mean a weakening and the danger of defeat for the communists in their own countries. The party journal defines the "worry of the bourgeoisie" about the communists'

falling prey to schematism and dogmatism as an attempt at counteracting the political and ideological cooperation of the communist parties. Danger for further communist successes did, however, not grow from any "loyalty to Marxism-Leninism" but emerged wherever, in contradiction to Marxism-Leninism, the attempt was being made "to absolutize individual and specific aspects of the class struggle."

The Dialectics of the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress

[Summary of article by Gustav Hertzfeldt, chief editor, East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK; pp 584-591]

[Text] Also with respect to the struggle against the danger of a world war a new era was initiated by the October Revolution. The anti-imperialist solidarity of the socialist countries restrains imperialism's possibilities for military aggression, for all violent intervention, for instance, against progressive developments in young national states. It promotes peace without, by that token, being an "export of the revolution." From the outset socialism has been dedicated to peaceful coexistence, the principles of which are directed at guaranteeing the territorial, yet not the social, status quo.

Disarmament--World Problem of First Priority

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Peter Klein, department head, CDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 592-600]

[Text] The struggle for ending the arms race that is being conducted by imperialism, and for arms limitation and disarmament is a struggle that confronts the fundamental features and inevitabilities of the two diametrically opposed social orders, socialism and imperialism. What is the basis for the possibility and need for concluding treaties on stopping the arms race and on arms limitation? What hides behind the imperialist thesis on an alleged threat from the east? What is the socialist countries' strategy in their arms limitation and disarmament policy?

The Poles and the German Democratic Republic

[Summary of article by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, member, Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) Central Committee; chief editor, Warsaw weekly POLITYKA; pp 602-606]

[Text] The author rates the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, the first workers-and-farmers-state on German soil, as an event of historic scope for the German people as well as for all of Europe. Against the historical background of German-Polish relations, the importance of the historically unique situation is being evaluated, to the effect that for the first time in the history of Poland there now exists beyond its western border a German state which has made a radical break with its imperialist and fascist past and with which the People's Republic of Poland, on the common basis of socialism, is fraternally allied.

Building for the Benefit of the People

[Summary of article by Wolfgang Junker, member, SED Central Committee; minister for construction; pp 607-615]

[Text] The purposefully continuing implementation of our main task implies an important improvement in the efficiency of industrial construction for the strengthening of the material-technical base of our economy due to the fulfillment of our long-term housing construction program--the centerpiece of our party's social policy. Binding for all is our republic's overall interest. We are building what has been ratified and allocated by the plan. Higher effectiveness and quality have to be achieved in the building trade, and the scheduled construction periods have to be significantly shortened through accelerated scientific-technical progress.

Pulsebeat of Socialism in Former Land of Junkers

[Summary of article by Gerhard Mueller, second secretary, SED Neubrandenburg Bezirk Management; pp 616-622]

[Text] The workers class led by its Marxist-Leninist party and together with its alliance partners is fundamentally transforming the political, economic and intellectual-cultural conditions in what was once the most backward area of imperialist Germany, the land of Mecklenburg. By sketching this penetrating process of change from the democratic land reform to socialism in the countryside, and the maturation process of the workers class and its party, it is being shown how today in Neubrandenburg Bezirk all areas of public life testify to the powerful pulsebeat of socialism.

Work Education and Personality Development

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Juergen Polzin, director, Research Center, GDR Academy of Pedagogic Sciences, Halle-Neustadt; pp 623-630]

[Text] The practical implementation, for more than 20 years, of the Marxist principle of combining productive labor, instruction and gymnastics in our country impressively confirms the successful educational work that is being done by having the pupils take part in the industrial production process, by polytechnical instruction and other forms of socially useful activity. This is an essential element of communist education and is part of the pupils' personality development in socialist society. This is being demonstrated, in particular, by means of experiences and scientific investigations in Halle Bezirk.

Entertainment in the Socialist Society

[Summary of article by Peter Spahn, social scientist, doctoral candidate, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; and Dr Christa Ziermann, deputy director for research at the same institute; pp 631-636. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] Entertainment, as an essential element of intellectual life and practical living in socialism, has communicative as well as reproductive functions. Far from being of "secondary rank," it counts among the basic cultural needs of man and contributes to the formation of socially active personalities with rich cultural needs. Entertainment in socialist society is an element of men's mode of life, a specific form of cultural production and appropriation and an indispensable function of the arts. As the 30-year history of our republic has demonstrated, it is a firm component of the socialist way of life and cultural development.

SED Advocates Increased Entertainment Programs

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 90, 13 Jun 79 p 4

[Text] IWE Berlin, 13 Jun 79--The SED's theoretical journal EINHEIT has come out in favor of broadening and differentiating what the GDR has to offer in entertainment. It should be a "task of socialist cultural policy" to meet the growing needs for entertainment through introducing variety to the life of culture and art and "further to develop and to cultivate" these needs "on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook." Of necessity

this would imply one should oppose all tendencies that would reduce the function of entertainment merely to recreation after work, pastime, amusement or the "lighter muse." People thinking that usually denied that entertainment in socialism had "specific tasks in the formation of socially active personalities with rich cultural needs." Entertainment should have to influence the "formation of characteristics appropriate to socialism." All possibilities should more strongly be used, EINHEIT continues, "for giving expression, through entertainment, to socialist patriotism and the pride in what has been jointly achieved." That would include the cultivation and further development of local traditions and new forms of sociability.

Prussia and German History

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Horst Bartel, member, GDR Academy of Sciences; director of the academy's Central Institute for History; Dr Ingrid Mittenzwei, department head in same institute; and Prof Dr Walter Schmidt, director, Institute for History of German Workers Movement, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 637-646]

[Text] Prussian history belongs within the total complex of our historic legacy. In relation to its various elements we define our standpoint on the positions of the victorious workers class. Any one-sidedness or absolutizing would be alien to our Marxist-Leninist image of Prussian history. It brings out the reactionary features inseparably connected with the development of that state structure and at the same time includes all the positive values that have grown there too in the course of history due to the work by progressive forces and which, as everything else that was progressive in German history, are integrated within the GDR's store of tradition.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WESTERN MISUSE OF 'FINLANDIZATION' CONCEPT ATTACKED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 24 No 5, May 79 signed to press 29 Mar 79 pp 113-119

[Article by Dietrich Guhl: "On the Misuse of the Idea of 'Finlandization'"]

[Text] The editorial board has received numerous inquiries on what might be behind the concept of "Finlandization" which in recent days has often been used by politicians, scientists and journalists in a number of NATO states, mainly in the FRG and the United States. The Peking leaders are using it too. The present article means to furnish an answer in showing what the so-called Finlandization is actually all about, what is insinuated by the concept and what the goals are that are being pursued by the misuse of the concept.

The Warsaw Pact member states at their Moscow Conference have come out with an offensive and constructive program referring to the most important steps and measures that have to be taken in the immediate future on behalf of peace, the ending of the arms race, disarmament and peaceful international cooperation. They are thereby carrying on with their policy aimed at the stabilization of world peace and international security. Recent months have demonstrated the peace-loving forces in all states have begun to make that program their own.

On the other hand it is not surprising that those who always see red when it becomes a matter of disarmament, detente and peaceful coexistence time and time again keep looking for opportunities to discredit the socialist foreign policy on peace. Among such efforts is the attempt to attack and slander the socialist states' policy vis-a-vis other countries. What we are seeing here, as this journal has repeatedly demonstrated, is a long-range conception directed against the core of peaceful coexistence. The relations between socialist and capitalist states are being denigrated and encumbered with all sorts of flimsy constructs. These attempts are increasing at present because positive and negative matters are getting mixed together in international relations and the detente policy is colliding with the policy of those who would love to pull the world back into the times of the cold war.¹

Component of Anti-detente Policy

A not insignificant role in the activities by the enemies of detente is given to the so-called Finlandization discussion. How did that get started? It started in a shameless distortion of the relations between the USSR and Finland, with the design of presenting such relations as a danger for the sovereignty of Finland. In EUROPAEISCHE RUNDSCHAU, a quarterly on politics, economics and contemporary history published in Vienna, Walter Laqueur of the London Institute of Contemporary History has given a most detailed presentation of it, by and large endorsing it.² Accordingly, they understand by "Finlandization" a "process or condition in which, under the cloak of friendly and good neighborly relations, the sovereignty of a country is curtailed." In the 6 October 1978 issue of FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, Johann Georg Reissmueller in this context even talked about "Soviet permanent pressure" and a "permanent Soviet embrace."

Exemplary Soviet-Finnish Relations

Finnish President Dr Urho Kekkonen and other leading representatives of that state have repeatedly taken issue with such slander, unmasking it as lies and rebuking it as interference in Finland's internal affairs. As long ago as in October 1974, Dr Kekkonen found himself compelled to take a position on the attacks against the policy of his country in the Western, mainly West German, press, describing its true content as follows:

"We consider that 'Finlandization' means political concord with the Soviet Union. From that perspective, all our foreign policy in the postwar period has been a Finlandization policy. We have minded our own affairs. The result of it has satisfied us. And we have made no secret of our pleasure that in recent years so many, even large, Western states have turned to a 'Finlandization policy.' It means seeking a peaceful settlements of the problems and good relations with the leading country of socialism. Political reconciliation with the Soviet Union is a consequence of detente."

This conception was confirmed by Dr Kekkonen at the climax of a recent campaign in an interview published on 18 and 20 November 1978 in the Norwegian daily DAGBLADET. Asked about his personal reaction to the use of the concept of "Finlandization" by certain persons and groups, the president replied:

"We know well enough which circles are throwing those 'Finlandization contentions' at us. And we are not naive enough not to see that the concept 'Finlandization' is deliberately being used to hurt us. We have no objection of course to using the relationship between Finland and the Soviet Union as an example for how states differing in sizes and social orders could live with each other in political peace and fruitful cooperation. We are, however, opposed to the use of the concept 'Finlandization' as a political stick."⁴

Nothing else actually needs to be added to that but that, along with many others, Klaus Toernudd, professor of international politics and chief of the political department in the Finnish Foreign Ministry, in the issue of *EUROPAEISCHE RUNDSCHAU* already referred to, has treated the history and present situation of Finlandization in detail.

Responsible Finnish politicians have drawn lessons, which they are consistently applying, from the history of their country which up to 1944 repeatedly engaged in aggressive operations and war against the Soviet Union. The chance that came through the victory of the Soviet Union and the anti-Hitler coalition has been used. The Soviet-Finnish friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty signed on 6 April 1948⁵ opened for the Finnish people a new chapter in its relations with the Soviet Union and made possible relations of mutually advantageous cooperation in the interest of safeguarding international peace.

Since then, international importance has been gained by the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line, as named after the two presidents. It is the model example for relations of peaceful coexistence between a capitalist and a socialist state. It serves not only the interests of the two states but the safeguarding of peace all around. Numerous initiatives for detente and international security are tied up with the names of Finland and Kekkonen which have entered forever the history of our continent. They have found great recognition in the GDR.⁶

Antisoviet Agitation

For more than a decade the concept "Finlandization" has been a component of anticommunist, especially anti-Soviet, agitation. It entered the propaganda of the anti-detente and most aggressive forces of imperialism at a time when the cold war policy had to be abandoned and more realistic circles and governments in capitalist states, under the pressure from the changes in the international balance of power, pledged themselves to the peaceful coexistence policy.

In looking at the time when, and the manner in which, the concept is being used today, it becomes clear the discrediting of friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist states as well amounts to an attempt at preventing governments in nonsocialist countries from a policy of international security and mutual advantageous cooperation, i.e., at forcing them off the policy of peaceful coexistence. That conforms with the concept of the enemies of detente to "return to the course of confrontation and thereby conjure up serious dangers."⁷

Interference in the Affairs of Other States

This policy violates elemental norms of international law. It despises the principle of nonintervention in the internal affairs of other states, which principle implies that no third state has the right to meddle in any form in the relations among other states.

Yet the Western politicians and political commentators never cease that kind of attempts. The attempts at slandering the relations between the Soviet Union and other socialist states are as old as the relations themselves. Only recently, the Warsaw Pact member states declared vehemently at their Moscow Conference they had "tolerated no interference with their internal affairs and would not tolerate it in the future either."⁸

The Wishful Dream of Greater Germany

In connection with the "rediscovery" of the "Finlandization" concept, what is interesting is that it is even used for designing a "Finlandization" possibility for the GDR in terms of the wishful thinking about Greater Germany. In EUR PA-ARCHIV, Bonn, 1978, issue no 21, Thomas Oppermann engages in this truly thankless task suggesting it was conceivable to detach the GDR from the socialist community of states and to provide it with the status of neutrality--if not the "traditional" sort of neutrality--provided the Soviet Union, among other things, were satisfied with a "foreign policy relationship leaning toward Moscow." That, in the author's view, would be so important a progress in the current status of the GDR "that the West including the FRG could hardly refuse commensurate reciprocal services."

This example demonstrates that there are some who simply take no cognizance of the GDR with its 30-year sovereignty. It also shows that the "Finlandization" concept is being used in accordance with seasonal conditions to "justify" the most diverse objectives of imperialist power politics. International relations are badly served indeed if international law treaties like the 14 May 1955 Warsaw Treaty or the 7 October 1975 friendship treaty between the GDR and the Soviet Union are misread so terribly.

Incidentally, there is a certain logic in reheating the wishful thinking of an alleged readiness by the USSR to agree to some sort of unification between the GDR and the FRG, provided "united Germany" would proclaim a so-called neutrality, as some press organs in the FRG and West Berlin have done, precisely at the moment that the Peking leaders started their criminal aggression against socialist Vietnam. That also shows that China's hegemonial drives must be seen as part of the imperialist plans against socialism and against detente, and that Chinese aggression, in fact, does imperialism's bidding. As far as the "Germany" construct is concerned, Moscow's PRAVDA has come out with an unequivocal reply on that, which says: "The GDR is an inseparable component of the socialist community. The GDR's alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union are indestructible. In vain, the undisguised West German revanchists as well as those politicians who are calling themselves 'flexible' indulge the unfulfillable dreams of upsetting this alliance."

Against Anti-imperialist Cooperation

The idea of "Finlandization" surfaces, even without the term being used explicitly, in the defamation of the relations between the Soviet Union

and other socialist states on the one hand, and with nonaligned states, on the other. Only recall the furious campaigns against the signing of Soviet friendship treaties with Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Afghanistan. Their objective clearly was to discredit the Soviet Union's solidarity with and support for these and other states and to keep states with a socialist orientation from signing or implementing such treaties. In the same breath, attacks are launched against those states' membership in the movement of nonalignment. And those who come out with those protestations are not a bit bothered by the fact that the nonaligned policy of the treaty partners is given explicit recognition in these treaties.¹⁰

Cassandra-like Clamor Against Peaceful Coexistence

While there are states that differ in their social systems, treaties of international law are the major means for legally regulating the relations among them. Their role thus is extraordinarily great in shaping relations based on the peaceful coexistence principle. So it is by no means astonishing in view of the main goal the enemies of detente pursue, of disturbing the peaceful cooperation among states with differing social orders, that the concept of "Finlandization," and recently even "self-Finlandization," has come to be used even in tagging the politics of capitalist governments or the ideas of Western politicians.

U.S. President Carter's national security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski has suggested to the Bonn Government it was engaged in "self-Finlandization." Bavaria's Premier, CSU Chairman Franz Josef Strauss, thought on 28 February 1979 he should warn against the neutralization, the so-called "Finlandization," of Europe, since otherwise one would incur the danger of a socialist Europe that would in the future side with the Soviet Union rather than with the United States.¹¹

Chinese Deputy Premier Deng Xiaoping on 10 October 1978, talking with a group of FRG newspapermen in Peking, went as far as to claim the "self-Finlandization" of European states was the objective of Soviet foreign policy. That kind of a process would grant Moscow in its hegemonial plans victories without battles.¹² After Peking's policy of aggression against the sovereign states of Southeast Asia, it is to be hoped, those who were ready to believe in that kind of lies will become aware of who the one is that harbors, and seeks to implement, hegemonial designs.¹³

In the utterances by exponents of those forces that would like to establish military accord between imperialism and China there reveals itself the attempt to nip in the bud all endeavors for detente in the relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, or for a realistic policy that would remove itself from aggressive NATO leadership, or for a more independent policy of any European capitalist state altogether, for whatever motives this may be, by the fairy tale of the Soviet danger and the loss of independence.

Against Objective Interests of West European States

There is no other way to understand Klaus-Peter Schwarz, who wrote with regard to the FRG in an article, titled "Finlandization," in DIE POLITISCHE MEINUNG, Bonn, 1978, No 181, November/December: "The main thing is to keep one's distance in every respect from the all too tough Eastern super-power. You can try to be clever in playing the game of detente policy, but you must not take too much of a chance doing so. There is an old saying: He who wants to dine with the devil must have a long-handle spoon. The FRG, however, has no such long spoon, and that is why it should not indulge in the pleasure of such meals too often."

Guenther Gillesen is on the same track when he, in the 28 February 1979 issue of FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, writes about worry "over the prospect of accommodation, appeasement and subjection under the Soviet will to power by Western Europe" and in that connection also discredits the relations between the Soviet Union and Finland.

The examples adduced are clear enough. They reflect the desire by the enemies of detente to denigrate, and if possible prevent, all independent realpolitik by Western governments that would properly assess the international balance of power and take the interests of their peoples into account. They will attach a stigma even to the most cautious attempt at pitting against NATO's confrontation policy thoughts of peaceful cooperation and understanding, especially in the field of military detente. The purpose of such utterances, however, can only be to defame the socialist peace policy and any other policy by Western governments that would face the demands of the times, while at the same time unmistakably opposing all cooperation on behalf of peace and of eliminating the danger of war. That, however, goes much farther than merely toying with ideas.

Justification for Imperialist Armament

This becomes most evident when "Finlandization" is used to justify imperialist armament and the warning against concluding effective disarmament agreements, and to appeal to the United States it should by no means curtail its military commitment in certain parts of Europe and in other regions of the world as well.

Take another look at the article by H. P. Schwarz already referred to. After painting on the wall the specter of a "threat from the East," by a whole hodgepodge of imperialist slanders, he then hits out against the disarmament negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States and "warns" against arms control agreements because "treaty instruments granting the Soviet Union a more or less legal partnership in the discussion of the treaty partners' defense affairs" were a decisive element in producing a Finlandization.

"SALT as well as MBFR (Author: the Western term for the Vienna negotiations) threaten to become self-imposed shackles for the West, which still could be used by the power that holds regional supremacy for the manipulation of its perimeter."

Only one final conclusion can be drawn from that: He who propagates such views cannot but let himself be counted among those who seek military superiority over the community of socialist states through an acceleration of NATO's long-range armaments program. And that, as the Moscow Declaration emphasizes, is bound to "meet the resolute resistance of those who are sincerely interested in peace and in the peoples' quiet life of creativity, and who consider the elimination of the danger of war one of the most important tasks of our time."¹⁴

By way of summary, this has to be said: By the misuse of the "Finlandization" concept two sovereign states are being grossly insulted whose relations with each other are marked by the spirit of good neighborly friendship and mutual advantageous cooperation, and whose shared desire is aimed at peace, international security and disarmament. By the misappropriation of this concept to other areas of international relations, anti-detente forces seek to paint it as a specter for the nations and to provide it with an extremely derogatory content. The misuse of the "Finlandization" concept smells of the moth balls of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism, is aimed against setting up friendly relations with the Soviet Union and thus, generally, against the peaceful coexistence policy, is meant to interfere with the anti-imperialist alliance between socialist states and progressive developing countries, and impedes the settlement of basic issues in international relations, principally the struggle against the arms race and for disarmament.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. E. Honecker, "Concluding Speech at the Ninth SED Central Committee Session," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 15 December 1978.
2. EUROPAEISCHE RUNDSCHAU, Vienna, 1978, No 2.
3. U. Kekkonen, "Finnlands Weg zur Neutralitaet, Reden und Ansprachen" (Finland's Road to Neutrality--Speeches and Lectures), Duesseldorf/Vienna, 1975, p 220.
4. Quoted from "Finnish Features," Bulletin of Finland's Foreign Affairs Ministry, No 10, 1 December 1978.
5. For text of treaty see "Handbuch der Vertraege" (Treaty Handbook), Berlin, 1968, pp 447-448.
6. Cf. "Joint Communique on the State Visit in the GDR by the President of the Republic of Finland, U. Kekkonen, 6 to 9 September 1977," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 10/11 September 1977.

7. E. Honecker, op. cit.
8. "Declaration of the Warsaw Pact Member States," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 24 November 1978.
9. Quoted in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 26 February 1979, p 4.
10. Cf. article 3 in the USSR-Angola treaty, article 5 in the USSR-Mozambique treaty, article 3 in the USSR-Ethiopia treaty, article 5 in the USSR-Afghanistan treaty. Similar passages are also contained in the GDR's friendship treaties with Angola (article 6) and with Mozambique (article 4).
11. According to a DPA report of 26 February 1979.
12. As reported in FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 11 October 1978.
13. Cf. contributions by Hertzfeldt and Doernberg in DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, Berlin, 1978, No 8.
14. "Declaration . . .," loc. cit.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEED TO REFORM LAWMAKING PROCESS DISCUSSED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 68, 3 May 79 pp 1-2

[Report from Berlin: "Reform of GDR Lawmaking." A translation of the Potsdam-Babelsberg STAAT UND RECHT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The East Berlin professional journal STAAT UND RECHT has called for better coordination of the various legislative acts by state organs in the GDR. Legislative planning ought not to be confined to the preparation and issue of various legal regulations but be oriented toward the "qualitative improvement of the entire legal system." By means of comprehensive and long-range planning, superfluous legal regulations should be eliminated, regulations still in force should be systematized, and new regulations should be issued which might in some cases close gaps and replace obsolete regulations. One ought to overcome departmental standpoints which had caused a multiplicity of rules, inadequate correlation among legal provisions and contradictory arrangements. That way alone could socialist law be made more intelligible and a more practicable instrument of state management.

Improved Planning, Coordination Needed

Potsdam-Babelsberg STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 28 No 4, Apr 79 signed to press 28 Feb 79 pp 343-349

[Article by Prof Dr Karl Becher, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence: "On the Planning of Lawmaking From a Comparative Law Viewpoint"]

[Text] The task of constantly further perfecting socialist law in harmony with social development is inseparably connected with the role of planning in socialist society. The nature of the socialist mode of production conditions the planning of all main areas of public life. This calls for

taking into consideration in planning also the issuing and revision of the most important law regulations. Only if made to conform with the requirements of social development, steadily and systematically, can socialist law fulfill its role as a formative social instrument.

For that reason it is generally being recognized in socialist jurisprudence that it is necessary to engage in systematic lawmaking.¹ This remark is based on the already adopted resolutions on the systematic elaboration of certain important legal provisions and on including the bill on the legal regulation drafts in the working plans of the councils of ministers.² In view of the growth of the subjective factor i.e., above all, the increasing role of the socialist state and its law, the construction of the developed socialist society calls for a new quality of systematic lawmaking. A new lawmaking phase of the socialist state has become ripe where, by analyzing the experiences gathered in the systematic preparation of legal regulations, the systematic perfecting of the entire legal order has to be brought about by means of planning and lawmaking. That is expressed by the lawmaking initiated at the Eighth SED Congress and the party program issued at the ninth party congress. This is a process that started in the early 1970's and can clearly be observed in other socialist states as well. Especially the USSR and Poland have devoted much attention to jurisprudence.³

In conformity with the greater demands made on the juridical superstructure, what matters is that legislative planning not be confined to the preparation and issue of various legal regulations but be oriented toward the qualitative improvement of the entire legal system. The planning of lawmaking must be integrated with the social prognosis, be an element of overall social planning, and proceed from an accurate analysis of the social effectiveness of existing legal provisions. In this sense then this is a matter of complex and long-term planning that has to coordinate the necessary measures for perfecting the legal order. Therefore it must be looked at as a "basic coordination tool" in lawmaking activity for the competent state organs,⁴ serving to avoid deficiencies in law that might otherwise be created throughout the lawmaking process. Deficiencies of that sort, that are to be eliminated by planning, might be, for instance, a great number of law regulations, multiple regulations, disproportions between the character of the socialist relations to be regulated and the manner in which that is done, inadequately coordinated or mutually isolated regulations, contradictions among the various law regulations, or holding on to obsolete law regulations.⁵ The planning of lawmaking thus serves the elimination of superfluous law regulations, the systematization of regulations still in force and the issuing of new regulations which might in some cases close gaps or replace regulations rendered obsolete by development.⁶ By their help we ought to contribute toward overcoming departmental standpoints which in the lawmaking process might lead to a multiplicity of rules on identical subjects, to inadequate correlation among legal provisions and to contradictory arrangements.⁷ Altogether, planning of lawmaking is aimed at making socialist law more intelligible and a more practicable instrument of state management. It is a matter of improving its quality and hence, its social effectiveness.

The goals pursued in the planning of lawmaking are not entirely new tasks. Perfecting socialist law is a permanent task of the socialist state,⁸ and for the fulfillment of it numerous successful steps have already been taken. What matters today is that, based on experiences thus far, we combine all measures for systematically perfecting socialist law and provide better coordination for the work of the lawmaking organs in order to improve the quality of lawmaking. To that end, the lawmaking plan is to combine measures that are already being used with success and new measures. The new and better quality is, essentially, to be achieved through combining those measures with the work in lawmaking coordination.

Since the early 1970's forms have been developing in the planning of lawmaking in the socialist states that are essentially identical in content but differ in various individual respects. The course of this development by various forms is of advantage inasmuch as a comparative analysis of the experiences gained can provide the prospects of optimum solutions.⁹

Without any pretense to a complete survey, we shall now adduce, based on Zavadskiy, forms of lawmaking planning practiced in the fraternal socialist states:¹⁰

In Bulgaria there are, always for a year at a time, a so-called ongoing lawmaking plan adopted by the state council and a long-range plan for subsequent years.

In Poland the council of ministers in 1974 adopted a program for the perfecting of the legal order for the years 1974 to 1980, which provides for a total of 106 bills of which 26 are codical in substance.¹¹

Romania has a lawmaking program for the years 1976 to 1980, ratified by the council of state.

In Hungary the council of ministers has passed a resolution on the lawmaking tasks for the period from 1975 to 1980.

In the USSR the presidium of the Supreme Soviet in 1977 adopted a resolution on organizing the work for providing conformity between USSR lawmaking and the new Constitution, which stipulates that up to 1980 more than 21 laws and other law regulations have to be worked out, the council of ministers has to look into the need for preparing further regulations, and recommendations have to be worked out for amendments and supplements for USSR lawmaking enactments now in force.¹²

Considering that in the CSSR and GDR arrangements also have been made for the planning of lawmaking, it may be said that in all European CEMA member states, especially since the early 1970's, resolutions on systematically perfecting socialist law have been adopted. This proves in practical governmental terms that in the current developmental phase in the systematic shaping of the developed socialist society the systematic perfecting

of socialist law is implied.¹³ It calls for adopting complex and long-term plans for lawmaking. That is why Zavadskiy in this context refers to a principle for the complex planning of lawmaking activity.¹⁴

The complexity of the plan is found in that it extends to the entire legal system and is aimed at perfecting law in all its branches. This becomes particularly evident in the 12 December 1977 resolution of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. It very broadly covers the matter of producing conformity between lawmaking and the new Constitution of 7 October 1977. The law projects to be elaborated start with provisions purely of a political science nature but also extend to regulations on the use and distribution of housing space and to environmental protection. Future targets include also provisions in civil, labor, penal and land law. This resolution makes wholly evident that the planning on lawmaking has to include both short-range and long-range measures. That fact also contains the reason for there being a two-stage plan in a number of socialist states, like Bulgaria and Romania, providing for a long-term and an annual plan.¹⁵

One problem clearly shown in practice concerns the planning period. What with all the periodization differences thus far, there is yet altogether a trend in evidence which would coordinate the lawmaking plan with economic planning.¹⁶ This, on the one hand, expresses a unified line for all of state planning, yet on the other hand it cannot be mistaken that the lawmaking planning has to be directed above all at coordinating the lawmaking activity in the economic field. There precisely a great number of state organs have legal competencies, which makes coordination particularly urgent. Thus in the GDR, after an analysis of Soviet experiences, the Ministry of Justice was tasked with presenting for decision-making to the council of ministers a plan on economic legislative tasks for a five-year plan period.¹⁷

Another problem is what legislative projects should be included in the central lawmaking plan. The point cannot be to include all the projects without exception. It rather is a matter of staking out the lines for further perfecting the legal order. In the hierarchy of law regulations this would certainly call for including the projects for laws and regulations.¹⁸ It also is conceivable that important supplementary regulations which would, for instance, go a long way toward straightening out the legal situation be included. In any event, it is necessary for the lawmaking organs to prepare their lawmaking plans in conformity with the central plan. This is one way of at least indirectly taking into account the lawmaking activity that is not taken care of by the central plan.

As to the binding force of the lawmaking plan, the base line shows the plan must be binding in its essential parts. This does not mean there could not be some parts playing more a guideline-type role. It also must be insured that the plan is elastic enough in order to be able to take account of changes and supplements resulting from progressive social

development. This then requires that the central state organ concerned with the adoption of the lawmaking plan decides on any necessary plan amendments in conformity with the growing maturation stage of socialist society.

If lawmaking planning is to have a positive effect on improving the quality of socialist law, it is not enough that a lawmaking plan exists, nor that it is a plan of high quality. The quality of its implementation is equally important. For that reason the lawmaking plan should include tasks that serve its implementation.

Considering that the focal idea in lawmaking planning lies in an improved coordination of the lawmaking activities of the various state organs, special attention must be paid to that also in the implementation of the plan. The state organ that offers itself in this regard as the one to exercise the coordination function is the ministry of justice. In Poland, where a lawmaking council was formed, that also is expressed by the fact that the minister of justice also chairs that council.¹⁹ In the GDR, the coordination function of the ministry of justice has been spelled out in the statute of the ministry due to the role it plays in perfecting economic legislation.²⁰ In Poland it is up to the ministry of justice, in conformity with the 8 July 1977 resolution of the council of ministers, to register the legal regulations of the ministries and other lawmaking organs.²¹ This registration is meant to improve the familiarity with the legal provisions that were issued and thereby contribute to the coordination of lawmaking activity.

Another aspect of importance to a proper fulfillment of the lawmaking plan lies in involving jurisprudence and social organizations in the process of elaborating law regulations.²² This involvement aims at using all available forces so that in the elaboration of law regulations possibly all problems that have to be taken into consideration will be given attention and, as a result, the kind of regulations will be prepared that fully harmonize with the requirements of social development. In that sense, in Poland jurisprudence has been charged with centrally working on the research topic "perfection of the legal system of Poland." The research coordinator for the work of 80 scientists, specialists in jurisprudence as well as representatives of the various branches of law, is the Institute of Political Science and Jurisprudence at the Polish Academy of Sciences.²³

Other questions that should have to be given attention in this connection concern the development of an information and documentation system in jurisprudence, a stronger inclusion of lawmaking problems in training and advanced education, and the elaboration of law regulations on lawmaking.²⁴

In the process of further perfecting socialist law, especially in the long-term and complex planning of law regulations, great importance attaches to norms on the lawmaking activity of the socialist state,²⁵ since that would help make a significant contribution to getting law regulations that fully

conform with the requirements of social development through correlated legal regulations that would preserve the systematic character of law. In this way socialist law itself will be improved in quality through utilizing the possibilities of law. That is why there has been a discussion going on in Poland for several years about the problems involved in issuing a law or other legal provisions of a high rank on lawmaking.²⁶ Such a provision should contain, in particular, the lawmaking principles, advice on the formulation and correlation of legal regulations, principles on lawmaking procedures, and determinations on decreeing and promulgating legal regulations.²⁷

Such a provision no doubt can further improve the systematic perfection of socialist law. Yet it must not be overlooked that very much depends on such a provision as it immediately affects the quality of lawmaking. And that is the reason why it is indispensable to approach its elaboration with all due care and to exploit all experiences gained thus far in the lawmaking process and, in particular, in the planning of lawmaking activity. In terms of principle, one can only endorse the sort of legal provision that would provide the lawmaking organs with binding advice for the elaboration of legal regulations since it can be of benefit to the systematic perfection of socialist law.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "Marxistisch-leninistische allgemeine Theorie des Staates und des Rechts" (General Marxist-Leninist Theory of State and Law), Vol IV, Berlin, 1976, p 230; A. S. Pigolkin and M. N. Nikolayeva, "The Perfecting of Laws and the Strengthening of Legality in the USSR," DER SCHOEFFPE, 1972, p 404; D. A. Kovatchev, "The Lawmaking Mechanism in the Socialist State" (in Russian), Moscow, 1977, p 60 as well as the literature cited there.
2. Cf. "Marxistisch-leninistische allgemeine Theorie . . .," loc. cit., pp 230 f.
3. Thus by the decision of the directors of the institutes for political science and jurisprudence in the socialist states, and of the editors in chief of the law journals, a roundtable conference was held in Warsaw on 18 and 19 May 1978 on the planning of lawmaking in the socialist state. The following spoke at that conference: Prof Dr S. Zavadskiy, Poland's Minister of Justice Prof Pr J. Bafia, and Prof Dr A. Lopatka (cf. SOVETSKOE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, 1979, No 2, pp 72 ff). A remarkable contribution also was presented by J. Mazur, doctoral candidate and assistant to Prof Zavadskiy. This article makes use of the conference proceedings throughout.
4. Cf. J. Mazur, "Planning and Lawmaking as a Means for Coordinating Lawmaking Activity," conference lecture mentioned in footnote 3, pp 5 f (Polish); S. Zavadskiy, "Problems and Perspectives of Planning in the Lawmaking Activity of the Socialist States," op. cit., pp 72 f.

5. Cf., in particular, D. A. Kovatchev, op. cit., p 70.
6. Cf. S. Zavadskiy, op. cit., p 72.
7. Cf. J. Mazur, op. cit., pp 7 f.
8. Cf. K. Heuer, "Long-term Planning in Economic Legislation," NEUE JUSTIZ, 1977, p 221.
9. Cf. S. Zavadskiy, op. cit., p 74.
10. Ibid., p 73.
11. Cf. J. Bafia, "The Program on Perfecting the Law in Poland," op. cit., p 83.
12. Cf. VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR, 1977, No 51, pp 849 ff.
13. Cf. S. Zavadskiy, op. cit., p 75; J. Bafia, op. cit., p 84.
14. Cf. S. Zavadskiy, op. cit.
15. Cf. J. Mazur, op. cit., p 24, and D. A. Kovatchev, op. cit., p 73.
16. Cf. S. Zavadskiy, op. cit., p 76.
17. Cf. Statute of the Ministry of Justice, Council of Ministers Resolution of 25 March 1976, GBL, Part I, p 185.
18. Cf. S. Bergmann, "Problems of Lawmaking Planning in the Field of the Economy," in "The Economic Role of the Socialist State and Its Implementation by Means of Law--Materials of the International Symposium on 24 and 26 June 1976 in Potsdam-Babelsberg," AKTUELLE BEITRAEGE DER STAATS- UND RECHTSWISSENSCHAFT, No 156, Potsdam-Babelsberg, 1977, p 130; cf. also S. Zavadskiy, op. cit., p 76.
19. Cf. S. Zavadskiy, op. cit., p 78.
20. Cf. K. Heuer, op. cit., p 223.
21. Cf. J. Bafia, op. cit., p 85.
22. Cf. S. Zavadskiy, op. cit., pp 78 f.
23. Cf. A. Lopatka, op. cit., pp 90 f.
24. Cf. S. Zavadskiy, op. cit., p 80.
25. Cf. B. V. Dreishev, "Lawmaking in Soviet State Administration" (in Russian), Moscow, 1977, p 40.

26. Cf. J. Bafia, "Principles of the Lawmaking Process," PANSTVO I PRAVO, 1975, No 7, pp 3 ff; J. Bafia, "The Program on Perfecting the Law in Poland, " loc. cit., p 86; S. Zavadskiy, op. cit., p 80.
27. Cf. J. Bafia, "Principles . . .," loc. cit.

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VIEWS OF PARTY ON CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIETY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 11, 5 Jun 79 pp 32-34

/Article by Emilian Bujor/

/Text/ A basic problem of the theory of scientific socialism, the research into contradictions and the disclosure and solving of them occupy a central place in RCP policy and activity. As is pointed out in the party program, "Contradictions which must be thoroughly known, however, appear and will continue to appear in the vast process of building the new social system. The party will take action with a view to the timely solution of these contradictions so they do not develop and do not affect the general progress of socialism."

In the view of dialectical and historical materialism, the areas of existence and knowledge are conceived of as an infinite system of connections and interdependencies within which nothing is unchanging, nothing remains what it was but rather is in a process of permanent evolution. The motor force of this perpetual evolution, the source of the change, transformation and development is the internal contradictions belonging to any phenomenon or process of nature, society and thought. They are defined as the relationship, the interaction between opposites, opposing aspects or trends of any object or phenomenon, they exclude or negate each other and have objective and necessary natures. The unity of opposites is given by the fact that each aspect in the process of the development of phenomena necessarily and objectively involve the existence of the other, opposing aspect, with both coexisting in unity.

Being a particular feature of morphological (structural) relationships, relationships intrinsic to objective processes of reality, the contradictions are inherent in the stability of phenomena and this state of stability is merely a stage for the functioning of internal contradictions belonging to the specifically determined phenomena and objects. Marx showed that the existence of phenomena, independently of their stage of development, is a form of movement and of achieving the contradictions belonging to those phenomena.

The existence of contradictions in society, differing from those in nature, is given by unity objectively and subjectively and by the presence and

action of man, who gives them a specific nature. This is the expression of the action of a series of factors of an objective and subjective nature and means specifically determined conscious and spontaneous processes of reality, with overcoming them being possible only through the participation of individuals and human groups and through the activity of social organizations and political parties. The contradictions in society are expressed in the interests of various classes and groups in struggle to keep the old social-political system for the revolutionary transformation of society. Depending on the nature of their material and spiritual interests, people intervene in the rise of social processes and phenomena and, implicitly, in the rise of contradictions and the area they are demonstrated in, contributing to a deepening of them or overcoming of them. Within the societies based on exploitation, the main form which contradictions are demonstrated in is the class struggle, the struggle between exploited and the exploiters.

In society the contradictions are not of the same kind and do not have the same content as those in nature; they join specific, qualitatively different notes, reflecting the degree of opposition of the two aspects of the given phenomenon or process as well as the intensity and method of solution.

The dialectical materialist concept of contradictions in society rejects the subjectivization and psychologization of them, it demonstrates their objective nature scientifically and makes distinctions between the contradictions demonstrated in the sphere of social existence which in the end have a determining and primary role and those in the sphere of social awareness. At the same time, historical materialism demonstrates the universality of contradictions as well as their specific historical nature and their specific nature determined by the nature of the system, by the stage of development of the particular society as well as by the area of activity they are demonstrated in. There is no area of social reality where contradictions are not demonstrated in different forms according to the specific conditions.

Representing the source of development, contradictions must be discovered and researched and the overcoming of the forms they are demonstrated in is the guarantee for avoiding conflicts or even social crises. We know that not every contradiction leads automatically and inherently to development, to progress. The history of human society does offer us enough cases where the contradictions caused involutions. Progress was only achieved when and only when the classes, which are the exponent of the need and meaning of history during a decisive era, struggle to overcome the contradictions in the direction of social progress. Socialism is seeing demonstrations of contradictions at all steps of its evolution. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stresses, "Life powerfully shows that contradictions continue to exist even in the socialist society and new contradictions even arise." The existence of contradictions in a new social system is not a limit, not a defect of this society and is not an infirmity of its general configuration. There is no argument of scientific basis to the idea that processes and social phenomena or even a system could exist without contradictions, as was put forth during

a certain period. Society, as other areas of reality, was, is and will be the grounds for the confrontation of opposites as well as the result and form for demonstration of contradictions. The change of an old, backward system for progressive social-political formations, the struggle between the exploited and the exploiters under the conditions of a society divided into antagonistic classes, the conflict between the popular masses and the oppressors, the struggle for social and national liberation and for defending independence and national sovereignty and the struggle between new and old are just some of the specific forms in which social contradictions are demonstrated.

In socialist society, where antagonistic classes do not exist, the contradictions do not have an antagonistic nature. But it should be kept in mind that some of the contradictions may become antagonistic and cause difficulties along the road of building the new system if actions are not undertaken and specific measures are not taken to prevent or eliminate in time the causes of the disfunctions. However, it should be mentioned that the elimination of trends which can favor the appearance of negative phenomena or can involve social relationships on the path of antagonism is not equal with the opportunity for eliminating any of the contradictions in socialism. Any stage of progress has a structure of relationships and its own evolution, which brings the existence of some specific contradictions. Such a position does not mean adopting an attitude of permanent self-relationship to the law of contradictions as the sole source of development, particularly if we bear in mind that not every contradiction in socialism leads automatically to development and that we must face functional and disfunctional contradictions both at the level of the system as well as the subsystem.

In treating these problems, our party proceeds from the specific nature of the contradictions, from the role, place and meaning of the subjective factor in the leadership, planning and achievement of social progress. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu demonstrates, "The role of the conscious factor, of the leadership by the party and of the activity of the socialist state does not consist of closing our eyes and denying the existence of contradictions but of recognizing their existence, understanding them, studying them thoroughly and finding ways which will lead to diminishing and eliminating them, continually assuring a free field for assertion of what is new in all areas of activity."

All the party's activity and the results obtained in socialist construction demonstrate the viability of its concept of the role and importance of contradictions and the role of the conscious factor in promoting what is new and in diminishing and eliminating disfunctions in all areas.

Examination of our socialist reality uncovers the existence of some contradictions specific to the unified social structure of our society based on the existence of friendly classes and on the unity of the national economy. They result from the differences which still persist and will persist in the future between the various nonantagonistic classes and social categories, whose specific interests cause certain contradictions which must be well known.

As the party secretary general pointed out, "It is clear that we no longer have antagonistic social classes however, there still are classes and social categories. True, there are friendly classes animated by the desire to create a new social system together; but it would be a mistake for us not to see that there still are contradictions and differences between the classes and social groupings in our society." Truly, if we bear in mind certain criteria, such as the conditions and way of working, the specific possibilities for satisfying the specific needs of various categories of working people in one stage or another or one area or another, the level of awareness, the situation of incomes, the relationship between the development of industry and agriculture and so forth, we find the presence of some differences which may cause contradictions, of course nonantagonistic ones, but which may become antagonistic if they are not well understood and if action is not taken to eliminate the causes of the antagonism.

A field for the existence and demonstration of contradictions is that of social awareness. In this area it is necessary first of all to understand the contradiction between social existence and social awareness, which is a potential contradiction and which should not lead to a lag in the way of thinking. The measures worked out for the development of culture, of education, of science and for eliminating some disfunctionalities in these areas have direct implications on the acceleration of social progress.

Criticism and self-criticism are one of the effective methods in solving contradictions and in stimulating what is new against the old. Demanding and principled discussion of all aspects of social life, bringing out negative states of affairs, defects, attitudes which do not conform with socialist ethics and equity raise the workers' combativeness, contributing to the operational regulation of the entire social organism.

The Romanian Communist Party gives special attention to the struggle between old and new; it is continually concerned with creating conditions for the birth and assertion of the new. Of course, even in such a situation the new is not imposed by itself but encounters resistance from the old, which defends routine, bureaucratism, laziness as well as other practices which do not agree with the demands of the stage of Romania's development.

Knowledge of the contradictions is not a purely theoretical matter. It is demanded by and becomes an imperative of the practice of building socialist society. Understanding and knowledge of the contradictions are a first step but the most important on the road of overcoming the contradictions. Mastery of them means the action of the conscious factor, of the party in regulating phenomena, processes, areas or aspects which are contradictory.

The complex nature of the development and operation of our society once again shows the need for increasing the party's leading role in the stage of creating the multilaterally developed socialist society. The programs worked out by the party for placing Romania on new steps of economic, cultural and social progress and human civilization bring out the effort for knowledge of social realities and for achieving the social framework for the means to resolve or overcome contradictions in time. The 11th party congress and the

national party conference as well as the February 1979 Central Committee Plenum, through the decisions and programs of measures worked out, have taken into consideration the country's specific realities as well as the evolution of Romanian society in agreement with the needs of the country's social-economic progress. A basic note of the party's economic policy developed during this stage which is decisive for placing Romania on new coordinate of civilization is given by assuring a superior quality in all sectors. This will permit achieving a framework which is adequate for the harmonious and balanced demonstration of an economy which corresponds to the demands for increased efficiency and for interdependent relations between production, research and education.

Improvement in the system of social-economic leadership and worker, revolutionary democracy is one of the effective methods for overcoming some contradictions such as what appeared between the old financial-economic system and the democratic framework of leadership. The party is taking action to improve the economic and democratic framework and the entire social system and operation of political relations, seeking to increase the masses' direct participation in the discussion, compilation and application of decisions as well as in promoting forms of public checking.

What is decisive in the discovery and overcoming of contradictions is knowledge of the realities in all their complexity both of the positive as well as negative aspects. Avoiding the less pleasant aspects or a pragmatic tendency to present only the "good" things which are convenient at the moment hinder knowledge of the reality deeply and the imperative demands for the good progress of social-economic development. Firm combatting of these practices and attempts to adorn reality and open presentation of reality, recognition of laps and defects create proper conditions for eliminating them and for the commitment and conscious and active participation of all the people in building socialism in Romania.

8071

CSO: 2700

FREEDOM, RESPONSIBILITY OF ARTIST DISCUSSED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 11, 5 Jun 79 pp 34-36

[Article by Dumitru Matei]

[Text] The scope, depth and multilateral nature of the process of building socialism in Romania and the changes which have occurred as a result at all levels of life and social awareness are reflected with broad echoes and in a stimulating manner in the overall experience of Romanian literary-artistic creation. In full agreement with our great achievements and our new realities, Romania's art today is accepting determinations which are guiding it toward its natural and noble goal--that of consciously and responsibly assuming the mission of capturing spiritual sources in whose substance the structures of socialist humanity are moulded. Its creative capabilities, artistic movement in all its forms of manifestation thus are organized around a program of specific expression, emanating from the program to create the multilaterally developed socialist society.

"Our country," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, "and our society need militant literary works with a deep revolutionary content which will contribute to the great epic of building the new world in Romania, will sing the people's heroic struggle and work, their joys and misfortunes, their hopes and dreams, will animate millions of creators of the socialist system and will give voice to their ardent desire for a free, respectable and happy life."*

Our party ideology and its policy in the area of cultural and artistic creation have brought a broad revolutionary reorganization of man's problems and, explicitly, the relationship between the artist's freedom and responsibility in the levels of aesthetic and moral awareness. In this new ideological and spiritual context, Romania's writers and artists are committed with total selflessness in the effort to build socialist humanity. The problems such as the human condition in the world and in the socialist framework of existence, our national and cultural specific nature, the meaning and quality of life, social aspirations and moral aspirations and states and tensions of the spirit are not merely simple thematic circumscriptions in the perspective of the idea of responsibility. They are particularly important, particularly

* Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Road To Building the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Vol 7, Political Publishers, 1973, p 352.

for that which our artists understand to place under the sign of literature and art freely and responsibly. What characterizes artistic experience in the current stage of evolution of Romanian art and literature is the act of free exploration of the artistic reserves for formation suggested by the spirituality and socialist environment of life.

In this regard, the artist's freedom and responsibility not only demand from within the commitment of new relationships with the historical sphere established of artistic language but rather, with the same importance, the discovery of great ideas and truths which would actively intervene in social life and in shaping awareness along a revolutionary, transforming direction.

The problem of the artist's freedom and responsibility primarily is a philosophical matter, that is, in the sense that the way of placement and solution always sends to a certain philosophical concept and a certain philosophical way of conceiving of the idea of freedom in general. The history of European philosophical thought, starting with Greek antiquity, but particularly from the Renaissance on, considered it from very diverse angles. Around the problem of freedom there was a confrontation between the rationalist-metaphysical positions (Descartes, Spinoza, Leibnitz), idealist and spiritualist positions (of religious inspiration), the philosophical positions which appeared in the psychology research (S. Freud and Otto Rank in particular) as well as those which have the postulate of existentialist philosophy at their base.

Particularly well-known is the famous Spinozian formula according to which "freedom is understood necessity" as well as the fact that, taking it over, Marx and Engels substantiated it and enriched it on the basis of dialectical materialism with new determinations. Avoiding voluntarist and rigidly determinist (fatalist) interpretations, Marxist philosophy gave the concept of freedom a more flexible and shaded acceptance, connecting it indissolubly with the idea of action. The Marxist concept of freedom means the scientifically thorough knowledge of specific conditions of action as well as the correct evaluation of alternatives of action. At the same time, freedom is indissolubly linked with the idea of intention (intentionality) as a free act opposed to blind spontaneity, with freedom having at its base the real opportunity for choice. Determined in this way, the historical materialist concept of freedom in general offers a positive solution to the problem of the artist's freedom and responsibility, that is, in the sense that it also denounces both the idea of rigid determination of the artistic act of creation as well as the idea of absolute freedom and absolute arbitrariness. Otherwise, the very history of art shows that so-called "absolute freedom" of the artist--that is, his freedom from any social, civic and moral duties--is an illusion, a preconceived idea kept and disseminated by elitist theories of art and its functions. The experience of the Dadaist movement, which abandoned artistic creation to absolute arbitrariness in turn proved to be the process of an inadequate understanding of the idea of determining artistic creation in general. Absolute denial of the artist's freedom as well as the thesis of his absolute freedom are extreme theoretical positions which in one way or another have marked the general concepts of art as well as the specific ways for manifesting artistic experience. But on one level and the other, these positions are falsely discriminatory and inoperative at the level of the real experience of the arts.

The artist's freedom and responsibility as theoretical and practical problems are the products of modern evolution of literature and art and natural echoes of the depth of the process of making the arts independent on one hand and social-political and ideological circumstances on the other hand. The romantics have posed the problem of the artist's freedom primarily as the freedom of phantasy and creative imagination but, it should be noted, not without a certain substratum, that is, social motivation. The emphasis was placed particularly on the idea of artistic change and innovation, an emphasis not lacking aversion to academism and the rules imposed and to the tendencies to canonize poetry and to any concept and attitude which implicitly or explicitly denied the artist's freedom. Presently the move was from freedom understood as the freedom of fantasy and creative imagination to the problem of the artist's freedom understood as freedom of expression. Thus, the exactness of "freedom of expression" (of social and national ideals in particular) gained a social-political, philosophical and clearly articulated ideological substratum. An historical analysis of this important shift in emphasis would have us make much too broad a digression in order to be able to include it here in its basic data. It is enough to stress two of the most important aspects of the problem. First is the fact that in moving from the artist's freedom conceived as the freedom of phantasy and creative imagination to the artist's freedom conceived as freedom of expression, the idea of the artist's responsibility aesthetically, morally and socially already was involved, presented and figured as a basic problem for the fate of artistic creation.

Second, it should be kept in mind that the idea of freedom and responsibility thought out in relationship to the artist basically has as a substratum and support the problem of the relationship of art with reality. The fact that these two aspects are dialectically and organically involved in the substance of each other is proven by the very history of modern literature and art, particularly the history of all the aesthetic doctrines which from various angles and ideological exigencies have determined the relationship of art with reality. Thus one may see that the nature of ideological bases (in a broad sense) of various aesthetic concepts of the relationship of art with reality (from interior, psychological and individual reality up to social reality seen in all its forms of manifestation) directly and immediately affects the way of conceiving of the artist's freedom and responsibility and vice versa: any meaning given to the idea of freedom and responsibility treated in relationship to the artist's act basically heads for a certain idea of the relationship of art with reality.

The problem of the artist's freedom and responsibility in our century has been posed more directly and productively, particularly in the case of left-oriented artistic movements, although they have not lacked ostentatiousness and "radical messianism." However, it is a fact that until the 50's the various avantgard European movements established an artistic climate through a more clear and shaded understanding of the relationship of art with society and, as a result, the relationship between the artist's freedom and responsibility, a climate which, by eliminating more decisively autonomist, purist and elitist attitudes, made it possible to effectively crush preconceived ideas

and dogmatism, rigidity and conformisms of all kinds, thus favoring the propensity toward innovation of artistic experience, artistic originality and creation implanted on the grounds of reality.

The history of Marxist aesthetic thought offers a profound and shaded concept of the idea of freedom and responsibility in relationship to the artist's theoretical determinations which bring out the indissoluble relationship between freedom and the value of the creative act in the field of art and in its specific social-historical environment of existence. The artist's freedom and responsibility thus become a framework for his powers of creation and establishment in the universe of human awareness. Permanent interference of artistic thought and views in social-historical reality (in a broad sense) not only does not disturb or inhibit and block artistic progress but, on the contrary, makes it fertile and enriches it with new perspectives. A creative attitude in art cannot be understood outside the organic and dialectical relationship between the artist's freedom and responsibility. From the viewpoint of historical materialism the idea may be stressed that the artist's freedom and responsibility unfetters the energies of artistic creation, guiding it toward the major centers of interest of the relationship of art with reality. First, since artistic freedom is not reduced to the freedom of choosing a subject and "dreaming" about it but, first, to giving new determinations to artistic language, which means creative artistic thought, imagination and inventiveness. Let us think of Eminescu, Tudor Arghezi, Lucian Blaga and Rebreanu, dwelling only on them, in order to be able to clearly realize that artistic freedom always was accompanied by a lofty idea of the fate of their art and the great responsibility they were assuming in the perspective of characteristic data of Romanian artistic thought.

In turn, responsibility does not mean a simple following of a given social, political and aesthetic ideal and does not mean merely understanding progressive desires of society but means discovering an adequate artistic form for social-human aspirations in a given historical framework. It means the idea of commitment, but the commitment can only be a militant one. In this regard, the entire history of Romanian literature and art, from its origins up to the present, and particularly in what it has created that is most valuable and representative for the way our people feel and think, could be used as an example. In the field of art--and regarding the artist in particular--social commitment in the absence of artistic commitment is and remains ineffective. Examples may be taken from all world literatures. However, it is important to remember that the dialectic of the relationship of freedom and responsibility is at the basis of the very development of the artistic phenomenon.

The vitality of the art phenomenon, on the other hand depends on the responsible understanding of artistic freedom and the ability to include, transform and absorb new social content in works of art in turn depends on free assumption of responsibility. Such a fertile understanding of the relationship between the artist's freedom and responsibility today is a particular feature of Romanian literary and artistic movement. That is why in recent years, particularly since the 11th party congress and the congress of the creative unions (the Union of Writers, the Union of Plastic Artists, the Composers' Union and so forth), broad discussions have been organized in a spirit of

stimulating freedom of spirit and attitude with the general subject being the new problems of Romanian artistic creativity in its relationship with the processes of the configuration and consolidation of socialist awareness. But, whether, among other things, there was a discussion of the functions of literary and artistic criticism in promoting values and in the process of aesthetic education or whether there was a discussion of the degree to which a literary and artistic genre is involved in Romania's new spiritual problems, an idea was put forth most powerfully in the foreground--that of the artist's freedom and responsibility in relationship to domestic history and the fate of its art and, from this angle, in relationship to the qualitatively new structures of modern Romanian socialist culture. Despite all their shortcomings and failures at fulfillment, these colloquiums, which mobilized the artistic community, clearly brought out that in the view of today's artists in Romania the freedom of creation does not mean "free arbiter," lack of commitment and lack of conditioning. On the contrary, freedom is understood as an integral element in the mission of building the durable artistic values of modern Romanian spirituality and, thus, an integral and characteristic element of responsibility--an idea which in turn is understood as a condition sine qua non of the real opportunities to diversify the methods of artistic creation and thus express, together with the ideals and desires of the artists themselves, the aspiration, sensibility and virtues of the people and the realities of life and achievements in the effort to build the socialist society and a superior spiritual civilization.

For the artists of socialist Romania, the freedom to create and to think is indissolubly linked with the constructive role of art and its functions and social mission. They are assuming a high historic responsibility: to seek, to investigate, to reflect with the goal of affirming the ideals of our historical era and of contributing with their specific means to changing the human condition in the spirit of the socialist way of existence.

6071

CSO: 2700

INCREASING ROLE OF WOMEN IN LABOR FORCE

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 11, 5 Jun 79 pp 7-10

[Article by Dr Ion Pacuraru]

[Text] Faster development of the national economy in accordance with the goals set by the party program and fulfillment of the tasks resulting from Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the working meeting of the RCP Central Committee in May pose complex problems connected with the full, rational and efficient use of the labor force. There will be a considerable increase in the number of worker personnel in proportion to the economic growth rate: according to the forecasts it will rise to around 9.9 million people by 1990. The fact that by the end of the next decade Romania's population will be around 25 million as well as that currently around 34 percent of the total working population still is in agriculture are being taken into consideration and that 34 percent is an important "reservoir" of labor force for nonagricultural activities.

A careful reading of these figures, however, brings out a number of vital aspects which must be taken into consideration in order to assure the numerical and quality labor force required by Romania's social-economic development rate under the conditions of modern scientific-technical progress.

A first aspect refers to the fact that the percentage of the working age population in Romania's total population has recorded a declining trend since 1975, a trend which, according to forecasts, will continue until the end of the century (from 57.1 percent in 1975 to 53 percent in 1990). The total rise in working age population in this five-year plan is around 320,000 compared with 764,000 in the 1971-1975 five-year period while it will be only 700,000 for the entire 1980-1990 period. In some counties, such as Bihor, Covasna, Mehedinti, Teleorman and so forth, the increase in working age population is very small while in others, such as Arad, Caras-Severin, Timis and Bucharest Municipality, it will record a decline in the next five-year period. The phenomenon is due to the small contingents born in the 1970-1976 period which will enter the ranks of working age population as well as large contingents born after World War I leaving the ranks of the working age population.

At the same time, affected by these processes and the rise in average length of life, after 1975 we see a process of aging of the working age population, expressed by an increase in the percentage of the population over 45 years of age in total working age population (from 25 percent in 1975 to 28.2 percent in 1985).

We also should add the fact that an increasingly greater portion of the working age population--young people between 16-24--will remain in the process of instruction and vocational training as a result of generalization of the first step of secondary school, development of the second step and higher education. As a result, of the total increase in working age population (700,000 in the next decade) only about 500,000 actually will enter production, of which about 200,000 are women. Supposing that this increase will be drawn entirely into worker personnel, the result is that only about 20 percent of the needs forecast for the 1980-1990 period will be covered. According to our calculations, 150,000-200,000 housewives could be drawn into production, while more than 1.7 million persons could be drawn into industry and other nonagricultural branches from the population working in agricultural production cooperatives and the peasants' individual plots in the noncooperativized zones. Taking into account the current structure of the population working on these plots by sex and the need for keeping a reasonable structure of the labor force to work in agriculture by age and sex in order to cope with the requirements for modernization of this branch, we see that the number of men working in agricultural production who could be drawn into worker personnel cannot exceed the maximum of 500,000. The conclusion from this is that between 1980 and 1990 about 1.2 million women from the agricultural cooperatives and peasants' individual plots must be drawn to the other branches of the national economy.

So, we may conclude that women in the next decade will be the main source for satisfying the needs for a labor force. In the 1980-1990 decade, in order to cover the rise in worker personnel needed for Romania's social-economic development, we can only count on a maximum of 800,000 men; the remainder--that is, around 1.6 million persons--must be assured from among the women. The figures are a powerful argument favoring the stringent need to take action with all firmness to attract the entire potential of female labor into production.

The legal and material framework for integrating women into social production has been created in the years of socialist construction. Women's full equality with man in all areas of activity has been established both by the Romanian Constitution as well as the Code of Labor and the Family Code and woman's free access to Romania's economic, political and social life has been assured. Reflecting these rights on various planes, the laws regulate woman's legal status and her protection as a worker, mother and wife. Thus, the Code of Labor provides in a special chapter for woman's right to hold any job and practice any profession in proportion to her training and ability and to receive equal pay for equal work.

Women employed in work benefit from special health protection measures and from facilities for the care and education of children. They benefit from 112-day paid maternity leave, medical assistance and medicines which are free for her and her children, breaks from work to nurse her child until he is 9

months old and, in special cases, until he is 1 year old, with full pay, paid leaves for caring for a sick child until he is 3, the right to work at half-pay until the child is 6 without affecting the mother's seniority on the job or to take leave without pay to care for him and so forth. Taking into account a woman's particular biophysical nature and her contribution as a mother, the law establishes a different retirement age for women--5 years less than for men--as well as the opportunity for it to be reduced 1-3 years depending on the number of children born and raised.

The process to free women from the limits of household activity and to integrate them in social production has been accomplished gradually together with general economic progress, with the change in mentality and outdated traditions and with creation of conditions for their instruction and vocational formation.

At the start of the construction of socialism, woman's participation in social-economic life was very restricted, being limited to certain areas of activity or professions: agriculture, the textile and readymade clothing industry, the food industry, certain professions in the area of services and so forth. Along the years a number of measures were taken intended to broaden women's vocational training and, on the other hand, to create conditions for their efficient participation in the process of social-economic labor.

In proportion to the increasingly more favorable general social framework, there has been a continual rise in the number of women employed in nonagricultural activities, both housewives from the urban environment as well as, in particular, those working in agriculture. In the 1960-1978 period the number of female worker personnel increased from 870,000 to 2,538,000--that is, it nearly tripled. As a result, the percentage of women in total worker personnel in 1978 reached 36.2 percent compared with 26.9 percent in 1960. The most spectacular increases were recorded in industry (3.7 times), in communal, housing economy and other services provided (3.8 times) as well as in scientific research and services (3.5 times).

It should be noted that women's participation in social-economic activity saw a much greater intensity following 1970; in the last 8 years the increase was more than 60 percent of the total recorded between 1960 and 1978. Also, women after 1970 has been having the overwhelming share of the total rise in worker personnel. Between 1970 and 1978, of the total rise in number of worker personnel, of about 1.86 million, nearly 55 percent--that is, 1,015,000--were women.

The faster process of integrating women in social work has been caused and favored by the rise in the technical level of production, by improvement in general working conditions as well as by the rise in the quality of women's vocational training. On the other hand, attracting women into work in greater proportions has become a stringent need, since the high development rate of industry as well as of other production branches has required higher numbers of workers which could not be covered from among the men as in the past.

The fact is that the agricultural population, as the main source for covering the need for workers required by industry and other nonagricultural branches, at the start of the 70's was comprised in good measure of women. The demand for labor force was adapted to the actual supply.

The Central Committee Decision adopted by the June 1963 Plenum has had a particularly important role in the direction of the more intense participation of women in social-political and economic life. The program drawn up on the basis of this decision aims at easing women's work in the family, at having society take over some of the tasks connected with supporting and educating the children, at improving women's vocational training and working conditions in the enterprises and so forth. At the same time, trades and specialties were established which could be carried out completely or in certain proportions predominantly by women as well as the percentage which women should represent in total worker personnel for the economy as a whole and by branches. According to this program, in 1980 the share of women in total worker personnel for the economy as a whole is forecast to be 39.5 percent, 39 percent in industry, 11 percent in construction, 45-50 percent in state agriculture, 14.5 percent in transportation, 60 percent in commodity circulation, 39.5 percent in communal and housing economy and other services provided and so forth.

Practical application of the measures established has considerably stimulated drawing women into social work and has brought important quality changes in the structure of the female working population. Compared with 1973, the number of female worker personnel has risen by 416,000 in the last 5 years at an annual average of 122,000. The largest increases have taken place in industry, which has absorbed nearly 60 percent of the entire increase of the period, with women at the end of last year representing nearly 39 percent of total worker personnel in this branch, thus having reached the forecasts for 1980. In some industrial branches--the wood industry, the paper and cellulose industry, the leather, fur and footwear industry--the percentage of women in total worker personnel in 1978 was exceeding the levels forecast for the end of the five-year plan.

The area of trades and professions where the female labor force is employed has extended considerably into all areas of activity; there has been a great increase in the share of women working in scientific research and services (41 percent), in new branches which bring technical progress (machine construction, electrotechnics, electronics, optics and fine mechanics, chemistry and so forth). Women are holding a predominant position in the health sector, in education and culture and in trade.

It also is appropriate to mention the rise in the degree of the women's training and qualification and their penetration and assertion on the highest professional levels as a result of the efforts undertaken for instruction and qualification. In the 1977-78 school year, for example, 46 percent of secondary school pupils, 43 percent of the students and 32 percent of those seeking vocational instruction were females.

Although substantial, the progress achieved in the degree of women's participation and efficiency of their work still does not entirely reflect the opportunities created and the changes which have occurred in Romania's social-economic configuration and it does not fully answer the demands imposed by Romania's rate of development. In some areas the current structure of the labor force still bears the imprint of the conditions specific to a developing country as well as the old division of labor among the sexes.

This finding refers both to the women's degree of participation in social work and, in particular, to the qualitative aspects connected with qualification of the female labor force which to a large extent determines the efficiency of work and professional promotion.

Seen quantitatively, drawing women into the worker personnel is rather slow if we take into account the existing labor capabilities and the needs of the national economy for a labor force. In 1974-75 the average annual increase in female workers was 126,000, while in 1975-1976 it was 152,000 and in 1977-1978 it fell below 100,000. Here we find one of the causes of stressing the difficulties in covering the need for qualified workers in a number of activities and professions specific to male work, such as mining, drilling, construction, iron and steel work and so forth. Men who could have been guided toward these branches held spots which could have been covered by women.

The slowdown in the rate at which women are being attracted to the worker personnel in the last two years raises serious problems which must be solved immediately. In many cases the leaders of enterprises, centrals and economic ministries have not been diligently concerned with assuring working conditions for women to an extent which would allow them to carry out appropriate activity. There is not enough concern with fulfilling the goals established which aim at easing household work as well as activities of raising and educating children. Shortcomings are demonstrated in the recruitment, training and socioprofessional integration of women in trades accessible to them. The following figures are graphic. While a large number of women in 1978 (more than 50,000) were trained to carry out trades which were improper for their biophysiological characteristics (miner, driller, coking plant worker, blast furnace worker, roller, boiler maker and so forth), more than 160,000 men were carrying out trades which are exclusively provided for women in the listing of trades, specialties and jobs. Unfortunately, the practice of attracting and qualifying women for nonspecific trades continues, which often leads to instability in their jobs. Lags also persist in employing women in the state sector of agriculture; at the end of last year women represented only 16.7 percent of total worker personnel compared with the 45-50 percent which is forecast for 1980. Also, the percentage of women in communal and housing economy and other providing of nonproduction services reached only 31.6 percent (compared with the 39.5 percent forecast for 1980) and in transport it was 9.7 percent (compared with the 14.5 percent forecast for the end of the five-year plan). Although the achievements for industry as a whole may be considered satisfactory, in some branches which through the nature of their work offer broad opportunities for employing women, the percentage of them in total personnel is much below actual possibilities. We have in mind the machine construction industry, the chemical industry, the electric and thermal energy industry and so forth.

Finally, we cannot end this summary presentation of the shortcomings hindering women's participation in production activity to the necessary and possible extent without showing that the use of available working time is less among women than men. Statistical data bring out that this phenomenon is due in good measure to the absences or medical leaves for taking care of the children and so forth; here we have one of the areas in which firm action must be taken, of course, however, in no case through administrative measures but through creation of conditions which would allow women to utilize their time in production better.

Elimination of the shortcomings pointed out as well as of others still being demonstrated in this area, without delay and without formal treatment, is of the greatest urgency.

The measures which must be undertaken to assure much broader participation of women in social-economic activity according to the possibilities and needs are many and varied and are provided by Romania's laws, laws which must be applied consistently. We think it is essential that action must be taken in particular in the directions which lead to easing women's work at home, more substantial aid in the raising and education of children, improvement and adaptation of working conditions in the enterprises and the working program to the specific biophysical nature of women and replacement of men with women in all the cases where it is possible and their orientation toward jobs specific to them.

With regard to the quality aspects of using the female work force, we feel it useful to refer to the aspects connected with the qualification of women, a problem which to a large extent conditions the efficiency of their work and the promotion of them and achievement of the female personality through work.

We should note from the start that the women's level of qualification is lower than men's. So we find that last year, while 85.8 percent of all men employed as workers were qualified, for women the percentage was just 79.4 percent; the result is that female workers do unqualified work in a greater proportion than the men. The very level of women's qualification is lower than the men's. We do not have data available on employment of women by categories of qualification, however other elements available allow us to make these statements with sufficient basis. If we analyze the data from the registration made by the Central Statistical Directorate on 30 September 1978 on the forms of qualified workers' vocational training, we see the following:

	Total	Men	Women
Total qualified workers	100.0	100.0	100.0
of whom qualification was obtained by:			
Specialty secondary school, secondary technical school, post-secondary schools, foremen's schools	5.1	4.3	6.8
Vocational schools	28.4	31.6	21.2
Courses of qualification	40.8	42.2	37.7
Production experience	25.7	21.9	34.3

The figures in the table show first that female workers obtained their qualification through the simplest forms--courses of qualification and production experience--in a greater proportion than men (72 percent compared with 64.1 percent). We know that qualification for the simpler trades is obtained through these forms, trades with a lower degree of complexity. They allow mastering of practical habits and skills but they do not offer the opportunity to obtain a sufficient volume of theoretical and technological knowledge for promotion into the higher categories of qualification and for doing quality, highly-complex work or for rapid adaptation to the changes occurring in the structure of production and social work as a result of scientific-technical progress. Generally it is a matter, rather, of a semi-qualification. At the same time, the percentage of women qualified through the vocational school, which at least until now have proven to be the best form for qualifying workers, is considerably less than the percentage of men.

Data on the proportions in which men and women have obtained their qualification through the highest forms--specialized secondary school, technical secondary schools, post-secondary schools and foremen's schools--seem to contradict the above statements, since the percentage of women is greater than of men. However, this is only an apparent contradiction since, in our opinion, the data come to confirm another state of affairs--that under similar conditions of training the women are promoted with more difficulty than men, in this case in jobs as technicians or foremen. In the end, let us write that the greatest portion of women are employed in those branches where the complexity of qualified work is less: readymade clothing, knitwear, leatherwork, cosmetics, printing and so forth. It also should be added to what has been pointed out that the double demands on women--in work and household activity--have a negative affect on their continued training in a profession and on the development of their personalities and efficiency of the work they provide.

Bearing in mind the tasks confronting us, the qualitative leap we must achieve in all areas of activity, as party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed at the recent working meeting of the RCP Central Committee, we must "give more attention to the vocational training of workers and to the activity of the advanced vocational training and raising of vocational and technical level of knowledge." Clearly, these indicators are all the more valid for female workers.

Faced with this situation and taking into account that in the future, too, the greatest portion of women who will be employed in the process of social labor, particularly industry, are to be trained through courses of qualification and production experience, since it is a question of women older than 20, we feel that action must be taken in two main directions in order to improve women's level of qualification. On one hand, these forms of qualification must be improved substantially so that they assure a more complex practical training and mastering of a much greater volume of theoretical and, in particular, technological knowledge. This means improvement in the content of training programs as well as the specific means for carrying them out with regard to the use of qualification courses for women, in particular, taking them out of production. True, the initial investment for society

to organize these courses is greater, but this investment will be recovered fast through women's greater productivity in production.

On the other hand, improvement in the vocational training of female workers who have gained their qualification through short-term courses or through production experience should take place with greater promptness and much greater frequency. In the case of women, whose budgeting of time is considerably tighter than men's, which permits them to give only a very small portion of their free time to vocational advanced training and in many cases a totally insignificant portion of time, we feel that this should take place on a priority basis within the working program in order to give substance to the advanced training.

Being fully conscious that the rational and efficient use of the female labor force is a multidimensional process with innumerable implications economically, socially and demographically, we have felt it useful to bring out the economic ones which we feel are essential and to suggest some ways of improving the situation. I think it is the obligation of the responsible factors to reevaluate, I would say, everything that has been undertaken until now in the direction of creating the best possible working conditions for women as an urgent need in this period of Romania's social-economic development.

0071

USO: 2700

CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY OF MILITIA HAILED BY MINISTER

Bucharest SCINTILA in Romanian 10 Jun 79 pp 1, 4

[Article by George Homostean, minister of Interior: "Always on Duty to Serve the Public"]

[Text] This year, when extremely important, historic events will take place in party and public affairs, namely celebration of the 35th anniversary of the national armed insurrection against the fascists and imperialists as well as the 12th Party Congress, three decades will have passed since the formation, at the party's behest, of the militia organs to honorably defend the people's revolutionary gains, the life and liberty of the citizens, public and private property, and public order and peace, jointly with the other state organs and in close and constant collaboration with the workers.

The annual celebration of Militia Day is a symbol of our party's and people's respect for those who spare no time nor efforts nor their lives if necessary to wholeheartedly maintain socialist legality, to protect the citizens' interests, and to further develop the climate of civic safety.

As Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The formation and entire activity of the militia organs proves the correctness of our party's general policy based upon the Marxist-Leninist principle that the socialist revolution must create its own instruments and its own state organs to watch over the defense of our revolutionary gains and to preserve the people's exercise of the sovereign national administration."

As long as they have existed the militia organs, composed of the worthy sons of the working class, the working peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia indoctrinated by the party in the spirit of revolutionary patriotism and love of the people, have been staunch and dedicated defenders of our people's lives and labor and their constitutional rights and freedoms shoulder to shoulder with the other state organs and enjoying the invaluable support of the working masses.

Knowing that they are serving a just cause and firmly resolved to requite the party's and people's confidence in them by their deeds, the militia personnel under the communists' leadership have displayed high moral, political and

professional qualities and a profound sense of responsibility for their assignments throughout their three decades of arduous work. Many militia officers and non-coms (such as Capt Alexandru Ghita, 1st Lt Iancu Iuga, 1st Lt Radu Labus, 2d Lt Dumitru Puiu, Sublieutenant Valentin Biliboc, Master Sgt Nicolae Acatrinei et al.) have died heroically at their posts to carry out their missions, proving by their supreme sacrifice the ardent patriotism, the boundless love of party and people, and the high sense of social responsibility with which they did their duty.

It is with the same self-denial, with intelligence and discrimination, with revolutionary firmness, and with strict observance of the principle of presumption of innocence, so that no one who has committed antisocial acts goes free while no innocent man suffers the rigors of the law, that the militia personnel, indoctrinated and constantly guided by the party organs and organizations, have carried out their missions with honor and dignity throughout the three decades of their useful service on behalf of the working people's interests.

Conforming to the RCP documents, the laws of the land, and the orders and directives of their supreme command, the militia organs have been making persevering efforts toward more effective prevention of antisocial acts as an essential point in their program.

Emphasis upon preventive measures through the militia organs' whole activity is conclusive proof of the profound humanism of our party's and state's policy and Romania's particular care to protect the workers' lives, public and private property, and public peace and order. To this end militia personnel of all echelons regardless of function or rank constantly emphasize prevention of the consequences or commission of antisocial acts both by general measures to inform the citizens of the laws and to instruct them in crime prevention and by timely warnings of those tempted to violate the laws. Under the party organs' leadership and guidance and in close collaboration with the other state organs (security, the prosecutor's office and the judiciary), militia personnel discuss new regulatory enactments with the citizens, regularly inform them of the most recent crime rate, publicize legal violations and explain their consequences in meetings or via the press, radio and TV. In their attempt to prevent antisocial acts the militia organs take prompt, firm and decisive measures to check the attempts of the declassed and disorganized elements to impair the legally protected values and the civic climate of our society, and to detect offenders immediately.

In pursuance of the orders and directives of the supreme command, the militia organs have been emphasizing better collaboration with the other state organs (security, the prosecutor's office and the judiciary) and closer and more effective cooperation with the masses of citizens, who are contributing more and more to crime prevention and control and to reform of the offenders through and for work.

Thanks to the extensive educational work done in Romania under the party organs' leadership and according to the standards of socialist ethics and justice, the masses' civic awareness is constantly growing and the collective sense of

responsibility for the major interests of society as a whole is increasingly evident. This is illustrated by the many instances where the workers collectives of enterprises or institutions, citizens of various age groups or occupations in cities and villages, women, youths or children take a stand against misbehavior or incorrectness in our society and intervene directly or petition the militia organs to prevent or disclose the antisocial acts.

The 30th anniversary of the militia organs is a pleasant occasion to warmly thank the masses of workers in enterprises and institutions as well as the rural and urban citizens at this time too for their valuable contribution to the civic climate and law enforcement by taking steps, either in organized forms (Patriotic Guard units, militia support groups, the law and order teams in the trade complexes, the order and discipline teams of the UTC /Union of Communist Youth/, or the drivers' volunteer activists) or through requests, suggestions or direct action, when they have found legal violations.

We also take this occasion to assure the entire people that the militia organs, guided and constantly indoctrinated by the party in a sense of high responsibility for the major interests of our society and for every citizen's constitutional rights and freedoms, will continue to make every effort to secure the interests of our society, its great achievements and revolutionary gains, and the bright prospects afforded us by the RCP's scientific policy for building the fully developed socialist society and for Romania's advance toward communism.

Alongside the entire people and closely united around the party and its secretary general, Nicolae Ceausescu, the supreme commander of the armed forces, the workers of the militia emphatically confirm their solemn oath to spare no effort to carry out their missions, to further the growth of our socialist nation, and to defend its national sovereignty and independence.

5186
CSO. 2700

HIDE OF IRON GUARD, FASCISM RECALLED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 11, 5 Jun 79 pp 14-17

[Article by Nicolae Marcu and Ilie Pula]

[Text] For the history of the Romanian people, like for the history of all peoples, the decade prior to World War II was a period of profound social-political changes and ferment, which reflected the sharpening of the antagonisms of the capitalist world. It was an era of keen confrontation between the antifascist forces, defenders of peace and of the national independence of peoples, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the fascist, pro-Hitler forces, which created a real danger to social progress and to the states' sovereignty. The party Program, in reference to that period, states that on an international scale "war preparations were stepped up, fascist Germany's aggressiveness was growing, and there was a policy of yielding in face of Hitlerism, which, at Munich, resulted in a number of capitulations with disastrous effects on peoples' independence and the cause of peace." [1]

The countries where fascist dictatorship regimes were established began overtly to debate the peace treaties concluded after World War I and call for their revision. The revenge-seeking revisionist manifestations of German militarism and of the retrograde forces of the former bicephalous Austro-Hungarian monarchy evolved rapidly and concentrated in an aggressive political orientation. Peace, independence, and the national borders of states were seriously jeopardized. In an article printed in REPORTER dated 5 July 1937 and headlined "Germany Opens Fire on Europe," N. D. Cocea, anticipating the stages of the Hitler aggression, warned that, after the break-off of the peace treaty, Bohemia, Eastern Czechoslovakia, and Poland would be invaded in turn and the expansion would directly involve South-Eastern Europe. Moreover, the policy of compromise and yielding conducted by the Great Powers -- England, France, and the United States of America -- which, also, were undermined by powerful contradictions, influenced the course of world events, encouraged Nazi Germany and fascist Italy's claims to redivision of the world and opened up the road to aggression in Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe.

Romania, with a strategical position in the south-eastern part of our continent and with important economic resources -- oil and grain -- from the early stage of Hitlerism's coming to helm in Germany became one of the major targets of exploitation and invasion.

In Romania, on the eve of World War II, in spite of all the progress made during the interwar period, industry was underdeveloped and its structure and territorial distribution were inadequate. In relation to the headway of the light industry, the basic branches of modern industry were underdeveloped. The trends toward proceeding to the stage of creating a heavy industry, however, were making themselves increasingly felt, as a manifestation of the domestic bourgeoisie's interests for limiting the influence of foreign capital and also as a consequence of the international situation which was more and more alarming for our country. These trends resulted in the greater influence of the industrial bourgeoisie in the economy and in the state, and within its framework to the greater role of the group connected with heavy industry -- mining, metallurgical, and armaments -- represented by Balasa, Auzan, Gheorghiu, headed by Carol II.

Industry's growth was accompanied by greater concentration and centralization of capital and production. Consequently, the formation of monopolistic organizations like the capitalist cartels and syndicates was stepped up. In all the processing industry, cartel industry accounted for 46 percent of the capital invested and 23 percent of the value of output. [2] In some branches, powerful enterprises were established, which, by their strength and by capitalist agreement, dominated the branches involved, and this enabled them to extend their tentacles in all the country's economic and political scene. As the strength of the monopolistic organizations grew, the contradictions between the various groups of industrial-financial bourgeoisie sharpened. In addition to older groups, such as the Liberal-Bratianu group, taking shape was the new financial-industrial group around Carol II, specifically concerned in the metallurgical and armaments industries.

The very fact that this group was headed by the leader of the state reflected the close linkage between the power of the big bourgeoisie and state power -- a linkage which resulted in the three dictatorships: Carol II, Iron Guard, and Antonescu -- and lent a more and more reactionary and antipopular orientation to Romania's domestic and foreign policy. Lucretiu Patrascanu wrote: "That part of Romanian bourgeoisie that was specifically concerned in the heavy metallurgical and armaments industries, branches which no longer gravitate around liberal banks, but depend on the second financial center created, the state and the National Bank, ... was the exponent of dictatorial tendencies." [3] Moreover, the strengthening of the economic and political positions of the

financial capital leaders resulted in the growing influence at home of reactionary circles and of right-wing movements and in the liquidation of the last vestiges of democratic freedoms.

The development of this kind of industry, however, was far from doing away with Romania's economic backwardness. The domestic market, reduced as a result of the severe exploitation of working people in industry and agriculture, the low national income -- barely 90 dollars per capita -- the nonequivalent exchanges with the advanced capitalist countries placed Romania among underdeveloped countries, with a backward agricultural economy. Romanian products were exported at world market prices, which most often were below the level of national labor expenses, while high monopoly prices were paid for imported manufactured goods. These economic relations generated an unfair and nonequivalent exchange and this resulted in heavy loss of values for the national economy. Consequently, in the world balance of payments, Romania constantly ranked as a country in debt to the Western financial centers. All this resulted in a nonequivalent transfer of national income abroad and a decline in the accumulation fund and in the consumption fund of the masses. [4]

Romania's economic backwardness was reflected not only in its agricultural character but also in the fact that, paradoxically, precisely the agricultural sector was the most backward sector of all the economy. In relation to the other branches, productive forces in agriculture were the most backward and labor productivity was very low. In rural areas, where semifeudal vestiges were still found in agricultural relations, the process of differentiation of the peasantry constantly intensified. Almost 1 million peasant holdings were landless or owned a very small piece of land while the economic strength of kulaks and landlords was significantly growing.

In this context of sharpening domestic economic and social contradictions, which were especially aggravated by the interests and direct intervention of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, in Romania's political life the action of reactionary circles increased significantly and the activity of fascist organizations and specifically of the Iron Guard, the most retrograde group, an agency of Nazism in Romania, heightened. In the context of a heterogeneous class make-up, the ideology and doctrine of the Iron-Guardist movement actually involved a chaotic combination of opinions and attitudes, so that most often they lacked any sense and logics. One of the leaders of the Iron Guard movement, Nae Ionescu, clearly stated: "The nationalists do not have a program or ideologies, because ideology is a matter invented by liberals and democrats." [5] Contrary to demagogical propaganda which maintained that it was an autonomous movement of petty bourgeoisie or of Lumpen-proletariat, the Iron Guard movement had a marked bourgeois-fascist

character, an expression and tool of oligarchic ringleaders. "None of the Iron Guard publicists proposes or recommends the establishment of a new economic regime.... Capitalism remains the accepted economic regime, at most corrected by the prohibition of private cartels and monopolies...." [6]

Hence, the Iron Guard did not aim at eliminating the existing capitalist forms of living and exploitation but at maintaining them in the context of the capitalist social relations. By combining German Nazism with Italian fascism, the Iron Guard movement copied the idea of social solidarism, but the characteristic of this solidarism involved the reactionary attempt at identifying it with the context of primitivism, ignorance, prejudices, and superstitions of the most backward sections of the population.

Some Iron Guard ideologists expressed antiscientific views which did not have any relation with Romania's socioeconomic and political realities. A. Balota stated: "Romania's evolution so far took the wrong course, because it proceeded outside the national specific." [7] Proclaiming the village as "an example for state organization," return to the village should not have meant "to seek under false democratic pretexts social justice of the farm worker but to achieve ethnical justice of the peasant." [8] Ignoring the realities of the Romanian village, the exploitation of the peasantry, and the process of socioeconomic differentiation, which caused the impoverishment of the immense majority of the rural world, the Iron Guard doctrinaires specifically strengthened the positions of kulaks, in their capacity as exploiters of the working peasantry.

The Iron Guard doctrinaires and, by and large, the ideologists of right-wing trends, also focused on industry and its future. For instance, Nae Ionescu and other representatives of the extreme right wing, taking an irrationalist stand, negated the evident realities tied in with Romania's industrial development. They tended to create a veritable metaphysics of peasant primitivity from the specific of the rural world, writing disapprovingly about "the extraordinary, morbid development of industrial capitalism," about "the impossibility for the Orient, this cradle of moral ideals, to take in European machinism" [9] (Romania being placed in the Orient zone -- authors' note). Even in the fourth decade of our century, when in Romania too, capitalist industrialization was gaining ground, the "trairist" publication CUVINTUL continued to censure the trends in favor of industrial development. [10] This stand of the Iron Guard movement in relation to industrial development in the final analysis reflected Hitler Germany's interests to turn Romania into an outlet for its manufactured goods and a source of raw materials and to keep this country at the mercy of its predatory greed.

* Relating to "trairism" -- life for life's sake doctrine (translator's note).

The Iron Guard movement, which represented the phenomenon characteristic of the reactionary tendencies of oligarchic leaders, conducted an utterly antinational policy. An agency of Nazi Germany, it subordinated the economy and the country to Nazi Germany's domination, jeopardizing Romania's existence as an independent and sovereign state. The Iron Guard leaders stated that 48 hours after their coming to helm they would align Romania to the side of Germany and Italy, that is precisely the side of those that imposed the Vienna Treaty under which Northern Transylvania was wrested from us.

The increase in the class antagonisms, the ferment of world events in those years, Nazi Germany's stronger and stronger pressure on Romania combined with the terrorist activity of the Iron Guard which, by crimes and assassinations and taking advantage of the tolerant position of the ruling circles, intimidated and eliminated its opponents, forcing its way to seizing state power. A factor involved was Iuliu Maniu, the head of the National-Peasant Party, who in November 1937 concluded a "nonaggression pact" with the Iron Guard. The antifascist press branded this electoral pact and rightly denounced Corneliu Codreanu, Iuliu Maniu's ally, as the "Trojan horse of Italo-Prussian imperialism in Romania." [11]

In 1937, Stefan Voicu pointed out that by its policy the Iron Guard supported Hitler Germany's policy of subordinating Romania's economy. He wrote: "We do not need to dwell too long on Hitler Berlin's intentions on Romania. Imperialist Germany of today showed us fairly clearly 20 years ago, by Bucharest peace, how much it wants to militarily and administratively-politically occupy our entire oil area and how much it covets our wheat, corn, and livestock." [12] Alliance with Nazi Berlin in the final analysis meant betraying the national interests because it involved, as events bore out, the direct danger of violating Romania's territorial integrity. While all Romanian nation and prominent scientific and cultural personalities firmly spoke up for the country's territorial integrity, [13] the Iron Guard leaders proclaimed their devotion to the Axis Powers. Moria Sima told the head of the German Information Service, Herman von Ritgen: "Though the Iron Guard movement opposes any territorial cession, if Romania is advised by the Fuhrer to make a western border rectification to ensure peace, in this hypothesis the Iron Guard movement accepts the idea of cession." [14] Immediately after the signing of the Vienna Diktat, the head of the Iron Guard circulated a manifesto by which "the Iron Guard movement reiterated its profound devotion to the Axis Powers." [15]

By all its activity, the Iron Guard aimed at establishing open fascist dictatorship, which was contrary to the national interests, and the incorporation of Romania into the German "Lebensraum," into Nazi Germany's economic and political hinterland, abolition of Romania's political, economic, and state independence.

Assassination, terror, typically Hitler methods, constituted the current form of action of the Iron Guard in its entire political activity. In this respect the Iron Guard movement was "barbarism

transplanted in modern times." Until 1940 the Iron Guardists assassinated four prime ministers, many political personalities and antifascist citizens. The "death squads" had assassinated prime minister I. G. Duca in 1933 and Armand Calinescu in 1939. Victims a year later included world-famous scholar Nicolae Iorga, professor Virgil Madgearu, communist fighter Constantin David, and other antifascists. Many other crimes were bestially committed by the "death squads," including the October 1940 massacre at the Jilava Prison when 85 people, including an ex-prime minister and former ministers were murdered.

Extreme right-wing organizations in Romania "simply stole methods of German Hitlerism" -- Tudor Teodorescu-Braniste wrote in an article headlined "Doctrine of the Cudgel." The Hitlerites and their agency in Romania could not forget what the great scholar Nicolae Iorga, rising against the expansionist plans of Nazi Germany, wrote in 1938: "Beware my people, for great dangers are in store for you." Virgil Madgearu, denouncing the plans for creating a vast German space which was supposed to also incorporate the Romanian economy, felt that these plans "would be tantamount to the loss of economic independence, as a prelude to that of political independence." [16]

In addition to assassination, looting was a major factor in Iron Guardist practice. Conducted either on an organized, systematic basis or anarchically, looting was developed on a large scale, to the detriment of private citizens and of the state. It involved various forms, "from forced entry into private forms, for the purpose of plunder, to forced expropriation by using body violence, torture, and assassination. Blackmail, threat, confinement of people, police frame-ups, all this served only one goal: plunder." [17] During the 5 month of Iron Guard rule alone, the value of the assets stolen by Iron Guard leaders in the provinces amounted to the enormous sum of more than 1 billion lei. After the suppression of the Iron Guard rebellion in the winter of 1941, 174 trucks full of loot, goods stolen from stores, household items, clothing, and food were collected from the homes of Iron Guard leaders and from Iron Guard seats in Bucharest. The sums stolen by Iron Guardists during the rebellion days from institutions and private citizens stood at 100 million lei." [18]

Hence, the Iron Guardists by no means behaved "ascetically," as the petty-politician Iron Guardist propaganda tried to demagogically deceive the masses. The rush for rapid enrichment through plunder and assassination was the characteristic of the activity of Iron Guard "youth" during the 4 months of rule, while "ideologues" with criminal records, of Traian Brailleanu's ilk, demagogically prattled about the "new ascetic elite." The plunder and brazen corruption which characterized Iron Guard rule indicated how hypocrite and false Iron Guard demagogy was.

The Iron Guard movement, proclaiming itself an enemy of science and culture, through its ideologues planned to "purify" Romanian culture, to destroy all that was valuable in the progressive cultural treasure created by our people throughout history, in order to substitute mystical, irrationalistic elements of benighting the masses' minds.

The Iron Guardists, copying the Nazi savage acts in Germany, burned the works of the classics of Romanian literature and philosophy, the works of Mihail Sadoveanu, Tudor Arghezi, Petre Andrei, Mihail Ralea, Tudor Vianu, N. D. Cocea, and instead extolled religious mysticism, obscurantist practices, "abyssal" concepts, and the death cult. L. Patrascanu said: "The nebulosity of mystical thinking, the incapacity of understanding the economic and social phenomenon which they were witnessing....., the attempt to eliminate or at least to transpose into the realm of religious speculation the tumults related to fruitless struggle (in face of problems which could not be solved along the old ways and by the old approaches), the lack of horizon and historical perspective.... all this facilitated the penetration of mysticism here." [19]

In the context in which fascist ideologists encouraged mistrust in the advances of science and culture and total skepticism, depressing mysticism, the cult of "life beyond," antifascist intellectuals vigorously replied, disclosing the reactionary, antilife and antiprogress essence of the fascist concepts.

All progressive, democratic forces and, in the first place, the Romanian Communist Party consistently opposed fascist policy and ideology in Romania and the most dangerous group, the Iron Guard. The entire activity conducted by the democratic forces against fascism demonstrated that the working class, led by the communist party, was the main force which asserted itself as the representative of advanced ideas, of progress, as the consistent defender of the interests of all the people. The party Program states: "A constant goal of the party in those years involved firm struggle against the Iron Guard terrorist, fascist organization, created by the Romanian oligarchic circles, the agency of Hitlerism in Romania, whose intensely antinational policy caused serious harm to the Romanian people."

Under the historical conditions of the years prior to World War II, inspired by ardent patriotism, the Romanian Communist Party focused on the fight against fascism and the danger spelled by Nazi Germany and fascist Italy's aggressive policy to Romania's independence and sovereignty. Struggling against the tendencies toward the fascization of the country, against reactionary trends, racialism, and antisemitism, and against mysticism, the party summoned to fight, rallied and organized the working class, the people's masses in town and country, the progressive intelligentsia, and many democratic political personalities.

The events which followed during the 1941-1944 period bring out not only the horror of the crimes committed by the Iron Guardists but also the immense harm and the enormous damage caused to the vital interests of the Romanian people. The subjugation of Romania to Nazi German imperialism and the involvement in the criminal anti-Soviet war are historical responsibilities of the extreme right wing in our country, that served the German Hitlerites.

No, we cannot forget, no one has the right to forget that fascism brought our country to the brink of collapse, that thousands of sons of our nation perished in dastard assassinations, that hundreds of young people perished in the war. No, we cannot forget that in World War II millions of people perished in the Nazi genocide, that the war took the lives of more than 50 million people. The younger generations must know all this because they carry forward the torch of the fight for progress, for socialism.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Congresul al XI-lea al Partidului Comunist Roman" [11th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party], Editura Politica, 1975, p 629.
2. V. Madgearu, "Evolutia Economiei Romanesti" [Evolution of Romanian Economy], Bucharest, 1940, p 179.
3. L. Patrascanu, "Sub Trei Dictaturi" [Under Three Dictatorships], Editura Politica, 1970, p 26.
4. V. Axenciuc, "Schimbarea Locului Romaniei in Diviziunea Mondiala a Muncii" [Change in Romania's Place in World Division of Labor], in PROBLEME ECONOMICE, No 13/1967.
5. Quote from L. Patrascanu, "Problemele de Baza ale Romaniei" [Basic Problems of Romania], Editura de Stat, Third Edition, 1946, p 248.
6. Ibidem, p 251.
7. Ibidem, p 255.
8. Quote from Z. Ornea, "Taranismul, Studiu Sociologic" [The "Tsaranist" Movement, Sociological Study], Editura Politica, 1969, p 267.
10. CUVINTUL, 25 September 1931 (Article "On Our Own" by Nae Ionescu).

11. M. R. Paraschivescu, "Who Is He and What Does He Want," in REPORTER No 39/1937.
12. REPORTER, 5 December 1937 (Article "C. Z. Codreanu '48 Hours After'").
13. See Titu Georgescu, "Intelectuali Antifascisti in Publicistica Romaneasca" [Antifascist Intellectuals in Romanian Journalism], Editura Stiintifica, 1967.
14. M. Stoian, "Moartea Unui Savant: N. Iorga" [Death of a Scholar: N. Iorga], Editura "Eminescu," 1976, pp 121-122.
15. Ibidem, p 120.
16. "ACLA, 10 February 1939.
17. L. Patrascanu, "Suo Trei Dictaturi" [Under Three Dictatorships], Third Edition, Editura "Forum", Bucharest, 1945, p 182.
18. "Pe Marginea Prapastiei" [On the Brink of the Precipice], Vol 2, p 254.
19. L. Patrascanu, "Curente si Tendinte in Filozofia Romaneasca" [Trends and Tendencies in Romanian Philosophy], Editura "Socec", Bucharest, 1946, p 124.

11710
CSO: 2700

NEED FOR DEMOCRATIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 11, 5 Jun 79 pp 16-21

[Article by Dr Nicolae Ecobescu]

[Text] The establishment of the new world economic and political order, the tremendous changes in the very structure of international relations necessarily involves the democratization of these relations. The order of equality, justice, and equity also involves the genuine democratization of international relations. Consequently, the democratization of international life is an outstanding factor among the regenerating processes of the modern world.

The need for the democratization of international relations is now amply acknowledged on a worldwide level. In this respect it is significant that the Charter of economic rights and duties of states, whatever their nature may be, also includes their obligation not to aim at ensuring their hegemony and spheres influence and their duty to promote international social justice. The nonaligned countries, in their turn, pointed out that "the democratization of international relations is an imperative for stability and a vital condition for the progress of mankind as a whole and specifically of each country." Many other multilateral and bilateral international documents which formulate and dwell on the principles of international law and relations -- whose implementation necessarily involves the establishment of new international relations -- promote the idea of the democratization of international relations.

In the context in which all over the world democratization is one of the basic issues, it is now imperative to implement specific programs, on the broadest possible scale, on a government and non-government basis, multilaterally and bilaterally, in order to open up new prospects for the actual democratization of all the international life.

The democratization of international life appears as an objective process, integrated into the sociohistorical development of our era, an era of assertion of the peoples' will to live in the context of freedom and equality and also, as a conscious process, which

cannot develop spontaneously, but is the outcome of organized projects, directed by the forces of progress. Despite difficulties and sinuosities, the democratization of international life appears as an irreversible process, which develops uninterruptedly because of its agreement with the objective laws of the era and the fact that it is propelled by vigorous social and political forces.

By its very nature, the democratization process cannot be unilateral or unidirectional. Conversely, it is and needs to be pluridimensional and all-comprehensive. It equally covers all the realms of international relations. This process must be equally expanded in the political, economic, scientific, financial-monetary, cultural, and other areas. It involves the behavior of states, diplomatic activity, international law and international institutions. There is a close interaction between the democratization of political relations and the democratization of socioeconomic and cultural relations. It is evident that progress in one direction depends on progress made in the other sectors, just as all that hampers the development of progress in a particular area has adverse effects on its evolution in the other areas.

Moreover, it is a matter of an overall process, involving the totality of international relations, on all continents, the totality of precepts and values which are destined to underlie these relations, and also the participation of all states in its implementation.

Considered in light of "horizontal" and "vertical" evolution, the democratization process reveals uneven developments. On the "horizontal" level, progress is remarkable and considerable in comparison to the situation in the past. Decolonization, the access to independence of peoples in Africa, Asia and other areas of the globe, the emergence of about one hundred new states on the political world map, and other factors have resulted in the universalization of international relations and the establishment of a genuinely world community.

"Vertical" democratization has an outstanding and essentially qualitative importance. In this regard, the developments are far from being regarded as satisfactory. A powerful stratification and hierarchization of international relations still exists. Many privileges, discriminations, and striking inequalities, sometimes confirmed by norms and regulations of international law, are still found. The actual involvement of all states in decision-making -- in the broadest meaning of the notion -- only to a small extent exceeded the sphere of desideratum. There still is fairly strong resistance to the full democratization of the decision-making process. The tendency toward intensifying the redivision of the world into spheres of influence and of domination is part of the same context. Under these conditions, the efforts must be focused on obtaining tangible results in the area of "vertical" democratization.

In this connection, the democratization and depolarization of international relations are major factors. Maintaining centralized power and decision-making in a few centers, in the hands of powerful nations does not favor the establishment of a new, democratic world order.

Of course, democratization is a long process. The evolution of international life has a contradictory nature. Two diametrically opposed trends confront each other: the stronger and stronger assertion of peoples' will to develop freely and cooperate on the basis of full equality in a climate of security and peace, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the intensification of the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy of strength and dictate, of redivision of the spheres of influence, endangering peoples' independence and the course of detente, peace, and security of nations.

The changes which occurred in the world balance of forces, the objective factors of modern development converge toward the promotion of decentralization, equality, justice, equity, independence, and freedom -- opposed to centralization, inequality, injustice, inequity, dependence, subservience, paternalism, and hegemonism. In the world today, speaking up and acting for democratization are huge forces of progress -- the socialist states, the developing countries, the nonaligned countries, the working class, the youth, the women, and other progressive forces, the people's masses everywhere.

The lengthy quantitative accumulations for democratization need to be shifted to a qualitative leap, at an historical point when, on an overall scale, conditions are favorable for firm progress toward this goal, despite the existence of some hostile forces and obstacles that must be overcome. The essential requirement for turning the existing prospects into live and tangible reality lies in the rallying of all forces that favor democratization, in conducting resolute and large-scale actions of peoples, of world public opinion.

Moreover, the very make-up of the world community necessitates the promotion of democratization. The existence of states with different social systems -- caused by the world historical development -- is an implacable reality of these times. This reality is one of the basic features of our era. It will continue to dominate international relations for a long period of time. A paramount factor of the entire modern evolution, the reality of states with different regimes necessitates their active cooperation on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. This excludes the isolation of some states from other states and postulates not only the recognition but also the actual observance of the sacred right of each people to be the masters of their own destiny. Furthermore, the establishment of the world community requires the participation of

all countries in examining and solving international problems, on the basis of full equality and genuine equity, and necessitates the firm renunciation of the tendencies and methods based on the imperialist policy of strength, hegemony and dictate.

As essential components of the new world order, the goals of democratization also lie in the independent assertion of nations, on the basis of equality and dignity; in the strengthened national sovereignty of all states; the elimination of the status of underdevelopment and of the significant present-day lags, the ensured development of all nations; all peoples' access to the blessings of science and technology, of modern civilization; the assurance of peace and the strengthening of world security; the dissemination of economic and social progress.

For centuries, international relations were dominated by several big powers, that imposed their will by the force of arms, by wars of plunder and invasion, and decided at will on the fate of small and mid-size countries. For centuries, tens and tens of countries, whole continents, were subjected to colonial rule and exploitation. For centuries, international law was decreed by the big powers and imposed on the other states. For centuries, small and mid-size countries were regarded as objects and not subjects of international relations. Hence, they practically were excluded from the resolution of international problems, as this was an almost exclusive "prerogative" of the big powers. Of course, the nostalgia of the past, expansionist interests, and subjective desires aimed at perpetuating the privileged situations of the old days also are manifest in the conditions today. We cannot ignore the tendencies toward preserving the colonialist rule, toward promoting neocolonialism, and toward maintaining unequal relations, relations of dictate, interference and imperialist sway over other peoples. But, objectively, in light of the profound changes that have taken place in the world, of the fact that the world balance of forces has radically changed, and of the transformations which have occurred in peoples' minds and their resolve to be masters of their own fate, mankind can no longer be dominated by a few big powers, even if they are very big and very strong. Likewise, international problems can no longer be resolved by a small number of states.

Genuine democratization of international relations involves independent and sovereign development of all states not only politically but also economically, for their being able to freely exercise all their sovereign rights. Economic development represents the basic material foundation for nations' freedom and for the actual democratization of all the international scene. [1]

Of course, the need for development is not motivated only by economic reasons. It is based on many and profound reasons and primarily stems from the "desire to assume a full human status along the path of participation in industrial civilization, a participation

which, alone, permits a nation or an individual to cause the others to treat this party as an equal." This, because a nation's inability to participate in industrial civilization causes it to be "militarily deprived of strength in relation to its neighbors, administratively incapable of exerting control over its own citizens, and culturally incapable of speaking the international language. Preindustrial man is human, in the modern world, only in a latent sense, by courtesy." [2]

Economic independence provides the fundamental premise for eliminating economic inequality. Just as in national societies economic equality is a sine qua non of authentic democracy, internationally democratization involves the gradual evening up of the economic development levels of all nations. Nicolae Ceausescu indicated: "There cannot be genuine democracy when a people does not enjoy freedom, when economic inequality reigns; it is difficult to have a genuine democracy nationally and internationally, when at one pole are the rich and at the other, the poor....The creation of democracy in international life involves elimination of inequality and of the division of the world in rich and poor, ensuring of the elimination of the backwardness status, creation of conditions for each nation, each people's enjoying scientific advances in all fields of activity. This will be real democracy. Otherwise, it is only talk!"

The democratization of the international scene also aims at creating conditions for the proper operation of interdependences, a phenomenon which is characteristic of the present-day international community.

Proceeding from the existence of dependent entities -- the nations -- from the fact that the development and thriving of nations, on one hand, and the amplification of interdependences, on the other hand, are two processes which do not contradict each other but presuppose and condition one another, a "management" of interdependence is necessary for preventing their turning into relations of dependence. As a matter of fact, "asymmetric" interdependences exist, such as those between developed countries and developing countries. Hence, interdependences should act according to their finalities, they must be "symmetrical", with cooperation among nations being based on democratic norms and grounds.

Moreover, the definition of the goals of democratization involves the consideration of pluralism, of the diversity characteristic of the present-day world, which is made up of different states, each with its own physiognomy and individuality, its level of development, culture, and traditions. All the post-war evolution, as a result of the emergence of new sovereign states on the international scene, the universalization of international relations, and the transcendence of the Eurocentrist configuration of these relations --

which have promoted and powerfully assert diversity -- operates toward not only maintenance but also expansion of diversity. It is an essential function of democratization, designed to stimulate all the values of national characteristics, the free assertion of the individuality of each nation, and not the asphyziation of peoples by their integration into macrounits, directed by supranational bodies.

The diversity of mankind also created the objective universality of international relations as a sphere of involvement -- the whole planet, and also in terms of participants -- all the peoples. The major issues which agitate mankind have a universal character. All this postulates the universalization of the democratization of the international scene and requires that no geographical zone, no state or groups of state be kept away from the action and from the requirements of this process.

Standing out as a significant value of democratization is its function in expanding and diversifying international cooperation. There are many relationships between democratization and cooperation. For instance, one of the objective reasons for democratization lies in the increasing need for rapprochement and concord among nations and the interchange of material and spiritual assets. Furthermore, growing democratization is inextricably tied in with greater and diversified cooperation. It is a matter of close harmony and dialectical conditioning: expansion of one facet facilitates the growth of the other facet just as the hampering of one process has an adverse impact on the other process. The quality which must be lent to cooperation in the democratization process is allied with the need for free development of cooperation, its not being imposed or dictated, or decided by centers of power, domination or hegemony, which would actually substitute subordination for cooperation. Moreover, democratic cooperation involves eliminating any discriminatory obstructionist orientations and procedures and all artificial barriers that hamper or undermine international cooperation.

By definition, vocation, and finality, democratization postulates the strengthening of the standards of international law. Democratization involves legality, it relies on it and objectively tends toward the expansion and reinforcement of legality. Democratization simply is inconceivable outside legality, because the preeminence of law ensures the realization of each state as an equal and sovereign subject of international relations and provides the indispensable framework for democratization. Hence, the indissoluble relation between democratization and legality. Democratization backs legality, fortifies and propels it, marks its path and opens up broad prospects of development for it.

The close relation of interdependence and mutual conditioning between democracy and legality necessitates all states' recognizing and implementing the principles of international law and justice. Progressive development and codification of international law, in conformance with the major demands of our times, promotes the development and strengthening of democracy. The triumph of the new, democratic principles in international relations acts in support of

the broader democratization of these relations. This highlights the paramount task of disseminating and firmly applying in international relations the principles of full equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, nonintervention in internal affairs, mutual advantage, nonresort to force, and resolution of interstate disputes only by peaceful means.

Progress along the path of actual democratization of international relations also requires observance of the basic existing norms and principles of law with a democratic character, rejection of obsolete rules and institutions, and, concurrently, adoption of new norms, institutions, and principles which correspond to democratic requirements and the demands of justice and equity. It has become more and more evident that the resolution of the serious and complex problems of mankind requires a new legal framework which should not have anything in common with norms that confirm force, dependence, and colonialism, norms which long governed international relations and resulted in the world's division into oppressed and oppressors and poor and rich.

A major requirement of democratization involves not only providing the framework which fully corresponds to its needs but also rejecting outdated concepts and procedures and eliminating the old ideas on relations among states. For instance, the procedures and methods based on arbitrariness, dictate, hegemony, the division of the world into zones of influence, on the bipolar, tripolar or pentapolar structuring of world policy and the marginalization of small and mid-size countries are profoundly incompatible with the aims of democratization of international relations.

The accomplishment of democratization in international relations requires total renunciation of the policy of strength and interference in the affairs of other nations. Resort to military force and to other methods based on force, pressure, and intervention in the domestic affairs of other states not only cannot resolve any problem but thwarts the consistent implementation of democratic principles, the achievement of true equality of rights, undermines the new, transforming processes which occur in the world, and spell very grave dangers to quiet and peace of mankind.

[3] The abolition of force not only on a legal level but also as a social phenomenon and procedure is one of the most distinctive facets of a genuinely democratic system of international relations. This is not only the prerequisite of completing democratization but also the essential requirement which ensures the successful operation of the established democratic system.

This context also involves the need for peacefully resolving international disputes. Characteristics of prior stages, when there could not be any question of democratization as a political goal, involved resort to force, resolution of differences by using pressure, in fact subjection of weak states by the powerful states. It was a modality of imposing domination and exploitation, of maintaining privileges, of perpetuating pyramidal hierarchical structures. In this manner all democratic precepts were ineffective.

Hence, the leap to a new, democratic stage must involve the decisive change in terms of the exclusively peaceful resolution -- by political means -- of disputes and disagreements among states.

The completion of profound changes in the structure of international relations -- a condition and function of democratization -- consequently requires a modification in the foreign behavior of all states. The shaping of the states' behavior must be increasingly based on the needs for resolving the basic problems of the world today in the common interest. The resolution of these problems and the triumph of democratization of international relations ultimately depend on the world nations' will for democratic cooperation. Generalized respect, in all international relations, for the principles of legality, justice, equality, and equity is essential for generating in states' behavior changes capable of promoting democratization of international relations.

Other factors in this context are restructure and democratization of diplomacy, in terms of substance, essence of diplomatic talks and contacts, the procedures for conducting them, and the overall methods. While diplomacy in past centuries bore the mark of "aristocracy," was the privilege of "elites," proceeded at meetings behind closed doors and wound up in secret treaties, in today's world diplomacy is no longer conducted by a caste. Specifically because of the development of its multilateral forms, within the framework of organizations, conferences and many other international meetings, diplomacy must acquire the values of open activity, which is indispensable to full democratization. The peoples can not be kept in ignorance, in darkness regarding negotiations in the area of disarmament and other fields. Public opinion, the masses must be informed about the course of negotiations, they must be informed about the obstacles and about the results obtained, in order to continuously enhance their influence on international policy, on governments.

International organizations must play a significant role in the democratization of international relations, because of their importance and mission in world policy. The international organizations, and primarily the U.N., have been instrumental in much of the progress made toward democratization, such as, for instance, in decolonization. Within the framework of these organizations, a set of norms and principles was worked out, whose overall implementation is essential for the triumph of democratization. They include: assertion of the peoples' right to self-determination and independence; outlining and confirmation of the right of permanent sovereignty over the national resources and wealth; the new international economic order, and so forth.

Of course, for the growing input of international organizations into expanding democratization, these organizations themselves must be highly democratized. All the vestiges of the colonialist, postcolonialist, and imperialist era and any anachronistic element of inequality and inequity must be eliminated from the statutes, forms of organization and activities of these organizations. The

major courses of action in this area may be synthesized as follows: a. Updating of statutes; b. Specification of the mandates of each organization and of its bodies in light of the needs of the new international order; c. Strengthening of the representative bodies made up of the totality of the organization's members; d. Abolition of all undemocratic structures; e. Direct participation of all the member states in examining the matters; f. Full democratization of the decision-making process, with conditions ensured for the actual participation of small and mid-size countries in making and adopting decisions; g. Expansion of the method of consensus in light of decisions; h. Mandatory implementation of decisions taken by consensus; i. Upgrading and rationalization of work methods.

The democratization of the structures and methods of the U.N. and of other international bodies encounters the obstacles which overall democratization encounters also. Therefore, it is necessary to step up the fight in this direction and also on a broader level, for the purpose of ensuring the growing role of the U.N. and of other organizations in resolving the complex international problems, proceeding from the fact that in the current context they provide the best framework for the active participation of all states, especially of small and mid-size countries, of developing and non-aligned countries, in resolving the numerous and complex problems of mankind.

Our party and state holds that in the current stage of international life it is necessary to step up the fight for the full abolition of the old imperialist policy of strength and dictate, of colonialism and neocolonialism, of any form of interference in the domestic affairs of other peoples, for the firm observance of the principles of international law, for the resolution of all international problems by peaceful means, by negotiations. All this necessitates the democratization of the international scene, the equal participation of all states in debating and resolving the major problems which today agitate mankind -- essential conditions of peace and security of nations, of international understanding and cooperation, of building a better and more just world on our planet.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Freedom without economic and social contents means nothing to the ordinary man: it is freedom to enjoy what he does not have and has little hope that he will have. Just as it is inside states, it also is among states. Freedom means frustration to the state that lacks the resources and skill needed for providing its citizens with a satisfactory part of what, according to world standards, represents assets indispensable for living." (International Labor Office, *Freedom by Dialogue. Economic Development by Social Progress. The ILO Contribution, Report of the Director-General to the International Labor Conference, Part 1, Geneva, 1971, p 5.*

2. Ernest Gellner, "Scale and Nation," in PHILOSOPHY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCE, No 3/1973, pp 15, 16.
3. As recently stated by an author, if the inequalities which traditionally marked state relations must end, the institution that provided the chief means for maintaining the inequality -- resort to force -- also must disappear. The essential prerequisite for actual progress toward achieving legal, political, and economic equality lies in "actual restraint from the traditional permission of the state to resort to armed force" (Robert W. Tucker, "The Inequality of Nations," Martin Robertson, London, 1977, p 81.

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